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ABSTRACT

This collection of articles on vocational guidance and counseling is one of the NATCON series produced by the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission to improve the methodology of vocational guidance and employment counseling. Ten articles are included in the book. They cover the following subjects: a processing of counseling psychology for the future, a systematic approach to individual employment counseling, a prototype measure of career adaptability, vocational counseling in secondary schools, a developmental model of career education emphasizing decision-making skills, performance evaluation of guidance counselors, trends in counseling and guidance in community colleges, a British analysis of education for work programs in the United States, estimated versus measured interests and aptitudes in employment counseling, and vocational counseling with illegal drug users. Most of the articles contain bibliographies. A list of the contents of the other NATCON collections is included in the document. (KC)

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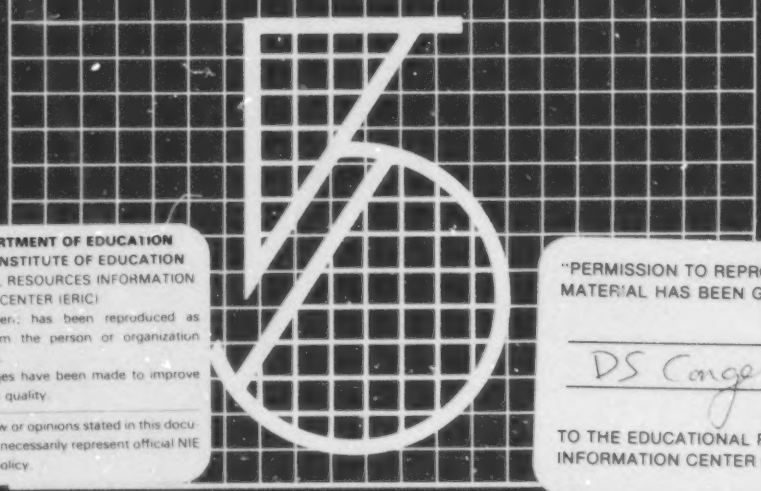

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Preface

Vocational counselling and guidance is important in helping Canadians plan for, enter and succeed in the labour market. For this reason the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) undertakes research and development to improve the methodology of vocational guidance and employment counselling. Many of the counselling tools that are created for CEIC are freely shared with schools, rehabilitation agencies and other organizations. The NATCON series provide a means of sharing research reports and information on new developments and practices with vocational counsellors thus further enhancing the level of service throughout Canada.

D. Stuart Conger
Director General
Employment Support
Services Branch

Counselling Psychology of the Future: Toward a Process for All Seasons

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Introduction

Since I agreed to give a talk at the current national consultation, the topic of my presentation has undergone a number of changes. It was my intention, initially, to discuss the evolution of guidance and counselling. Shortly thereafter, I advised Stu Conger that I would talk about new convergences which are apparent in counselling and guidance. Such a topic would have led us to reflect upon the shattering of the present paradigm of the helping relationship and the emergence of new tendencies. It is this theme which was advertised. In the meantime, I confess to having been particularly moved by the size and scope of the crisis which is currently affecting thousands of people. It is a crisis whose numerous ramifications on the economic, social and psychological planes have created a crisis of civilisation. More specifically, the almost collective despair of those between 15 and 30 deeply disturbs me. Several days ago, I read about the suicide of three young people following a group discussion, which must give us pause concerning the effects of the current crisis. As a result, I will not directly address the question of convergences in counselling, but will talk instead about counselling in relation to contemporary society, and future prospects for counselling and guidance. More to the point, what do we have to offer in light of the current crisis? What contributions can we make? To conclude, I will attempt to delineate a framework for reflection respecting the main parameters of the future of counselling and guidance.

A number of aspects of this text will be dealt with in a chapter of *Pour une démarche éducative en orientation* by Pelletier *et al*, Paris: Dunod, 1983.

A Society in Search of its Future

The crisis which contemporary society is experiencing has so many ramifications that some are already calling it a crisis of civilisation. The effects of the crisis are felt socially and psychologically in the family and the work place, and in terms of physical and mental health.

A rapid review of certain dimensions of the current crisis clearly illustrates its extent: (1) the progressive decline of the nuclear family and a growing tendency toward single-parent families; (2) the couple is increasingly envisaged as a series of monogamous relationships in which separation and divorce have become the rule rather than the exception; (3) parents are experiencing difficulty in assuming their responsibilities as educators and the demands of their professional development; (4) some couples continually put off having children; (5) discipline problems, violence and a climate of mistrust seem more and more frequent in the schools; (6) the workaday world is in a state of disarray: unemployment has reached nearly disastrous levels and jobs are often dehumanizing; (7) the population of urban centres is increasing, thereby causing problems with regard to space, housing, communications and a sense of community; (8) the invasion of television and computers is regulated only by the criteria of consumption and profit; (9) numerous problems are raised by increases in the number of elderly people in the absence of concomitant social development; (10) problems related to sexual equality and diversity still persist; (11) mental health problems — suicide, neurosis, psychosis, delinquency, alcoholism and drugs — are constantly increasing; (12) numerous cases of wife- and child-beating are continually being reported.

The list is impressive. What is particularly surprising and disturbing is that most people see themselves as powerless victims, often incapable of understanding or even identifying what is happening to them. It seems that the current crisis is governed almost exclusively by the profit motive. Such a materialist vision masks human dramas which are unacceptable in so-called democratic societies.

An analysis of the effects of unemployment clearly illustrates this problem. It is unnecessary to call to mind disastrous unemployment statistics to underscore the gravity of the problem. Up until now, the effects of unemployment have hardly been studied. For some, it is a necessary evil. Others claim that unemployment insurance or social welfare benefits can make up for the loss of a job. Little is said about the psychological effects of unemployment. Recent research based on ecological studies (Brenner, 1979; Catalano *et al*,

1981) point out unequivocally that unemployment has significant direct and indirect consequences: an increase in the number of admissions to psychiatric hospitals, the infant mortality rate, cardio-vascular problems and the suicide rate. This research dramatically illustrates the effects of unemployment without explaining the mediating variables of these results. Other research (Kantor, 1977) has demonstrated the negative effects of unemployment on the family and the couple. The wives of the unemployed are more depressed, anxious and tense than the wives of working men.

This research illustrates how mental health is affected by social factors. Data show how unemployment affects not just the individual, but entire families and society at large. What do futurologists predict? Essentially, that current trends will continue. Several of them (Toffler, 1976; Harman, 1974; Kahn and Bruce-Briggs, 1972) concur in pointing out that technological progress brought about by over-industrialization will cause numerous problems. Thus, mechanization and technological progress will very likely have dehumanizing effects: overly rapid change, dead-end jobs and problems related to ageing. Trends concerning the disintegration of the family, problems experienced by couples and those related to the education of children will persist. It is not by chance that *Time* magazine recently named the computer Machine of the Year, instead of choosing a Man of the Year as it normally does. Enormous progress will be made thanks to the computer. The challenge in the coming years seems to reside primarily in the ability of individuals to humanize progress which has already been initiated. Gabor (1959) points out that the most important obstacles facing us in terms of humanization are not economic or technical ones, but are related to psychology, religion, indifference, lethargy and ignorance.

The most fundamental aspect of this first section is undoubtedly the unequivocal demonstration of the appreciable influence of environmental conditions on the individual and his/her development.

An Overview of Contributions Made by Guidance and Counselling

Research in Guidance and Counselling

It is not easy to accurately outline the contributions of counselling and guidance in relation to the demands made by a changing society. Several writers, including Osipow (1982) point out that to a large extent, the type and content of research fairly explicitly define the veritable priorities of the

psychology of counselling and guidance. Various reviews of the literature carried out in recent years are proving to be important sources of information for describing guidance and counselling.

The analysis of journals by Foreman (1966) covering 12 years, by Munley (1974), by Holcomb and Anderson (1977) covering, respectively the years 1954-1972 and 1971-1975, the review by Lecomte *et al* (1981) in Canada, that by Pepinsky *et al* (1978) and the major review by Zytowski (1982) covering 30 years, give rise to the following observations: (1) it is difficult to identify clear and precise tendencies on the basis of published research; (2) over the years, the articles published have become more and more empirical; (3) the quality of research has improved markedly; (4) it appears that counselling publications have more and more in common with other psychology journals; (5) in recent years, most research in counselling has been directed more toward the processes of interventions rather than their results.

This initial analysis provides very little information on the contributions of the psychology of counselling and guidance, particularly in light of the numerous problems facing contemporary society. If we pursue the analysis of the content of published research, we note that research has been carried out in a variety of highly relevant fields, that is, in counsellor training, sexual variables, students, multiple guidance programs, and the methods and procedures of counselling, among others. Such observations suggest that guidance and counselling have made worthwhile contributions through research undertaken in relevant areas. In fact, if we are to have a more accurate idea of the veritable nature of these contributions, we must extend our analysis even further by asking ourselves about the methods, the variables studied and the context employed. For example, to what extent can research be generalized with respect to actual, practical situations? Does research take into account environmental and personal variables?

In order to answer such questions, we must undertake analyses of content which are markedly different from those which are presented in the literature. It is insufficient to say that research has been carried out on guidance programs in the secondary schools. It is more a question of specifying which variables were studied and in what perspective. As such a task covering the entire field of the psychology of counselling and guidance would prove to be complex and tedious, we will limit our analysis to vocational psychology, one of the most fundamental areas of research. An analysis

of vocational research should provide a representative sample of research in counselling and guidance.

Using two influential North American reviews, the *Journal of Vocational Behavior* and the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* as a basis, it is interesting to attempt to delineate the themes and the populations studied. An analysis of the content of both journals carried out by Gottfredson (1982) reveals that: (1) individual differences and the evaluation of treatments and services received the most attention. However, it is interesting to note that the study of individual differences deals first with interests, aspirations and values, while scarcely 1% of research is devoted to skills. Research deals more with what individuals want to do than with what they can do. The same phenomenon is apparent in the assessment of services, where more attention is paid to vocational evaluation, guidance systems and counsellor practices than to training, and placement, on which, nonetheless, skills and jobs depend. (2) Another category of research was devoted more to job adaptation and satisfaction than to job preparation, the loss of a job, or changing jobs. (3) The study of job descriptions is undoubtedly important. Research should have been devoted more to jobs available and the factors which influence employers in the choice of employees. (4) Thus, it appears that research in vocational psychology has above all investigated preferences and choices in the development of a career. Notwithstanding the relative importance of this field, one might well ask oneself if the study of factors extraneous to the actual situation which may facilitate or hinder such development would not provide a more sophisticated perspective with regard to vocational choices and preferences. (5) Most research (55%) has been carried out on students. Moreover, it is astonishing to note that socio-economic status is only rarely specified. Goldman (1976) regrets the absence of details respecting the situational variables of the populations studied, which might clarify possible generalizations. (6) Very few studies have dealt with non-student workers, and fewer still with the unemployed (1.9%) and the retired (0.2%).

It is disturbing to note that when researchers throughout North America are asked to indicate their research projects for the coming years in terms of desirable priorities, virtually no changes are foreseen. Indeed, values, attitudes, satisfaction, adaptation, interests, aspirations and the characteristics of jobs and work environments are accorded high priority. On the other hand, the factors which directly influence the development of an individual's career, such as

the job market, the employer, parents, the school, spouse, children and the community are considered less important.

In Québec, Lecomte, Ouellet and Perron (1977) carried out a study involving 139 counsellors, designed to determine what importance they attach to twelve categories of skills, and which skills they felt they possessed. This research enabled us to describe the professional practice of counsellors as they perceive it themselves.

The results clearly indicate that counsellors see themselves as being less competent in terms of social intervention, training and supervision skills than in terms of individual intervention and personal characteristics skills. Moreover, counsellors describe themselves as having more self-awareness than social conscience. It appears that counsellors in Québec perceive themselves as being ill equipped to intervene on a social plane. Such results can be explained, in part, in relation to training which is oriented more toward individual interventions. It seems that counsellors are more concerned with their own development and personal conscience than with a social conscience.

The counsellors indicated on a nine-point scale the importance they attach to these same categories of skills. Generally speaking, the results show that they attach greater importance to self-awareness, personal characteristics and individual intervention than to social intervention skills. This profile shows that counsellors value their own personal development and self-awareness, and attach little importance to a social conscience.

These results seem to confirm Perron's research (1974), which demonstrated that Québec psychologists display values based on self-centeredness and personal development, and that the satisfaction of their own interests is valued more than various forms of commitment respecting work and society.

It seems, therefore, that Québec counsellors do not see themselves as being well equipped to intervene effectively on the social plane. Moreover, they do not attach a great deal of importance to a social conscience and social skills.

An analysis of the contents of research carried out in the field of vocational psychology seems to clearly indicate a tendency to ignore active environmental influences. A rapid review of all contributions in the realm of the psychology of counselling and guidance (Zytowski, 1982) suggests the same tendency, that is, that personal variables rather than the effects of environmental ones are studied. Despite the relevance of a number of contributions respecting various subjects, it is important to ask oneself about the reasons

which explain the limited interest which researchers in the realm of the psychology of counselling and guidance show in environmental variables, which are often decisive.

Such questioning is all the more important given that some research (Endler and Magnusson, 1975) tends to show that the study of only individual variables hardly explains the variance in personal change (about 8%). The study of the effects of interaction between individual and environmental variables makes it possible to substantially increase the variance explained.

The "Parsonian Error" and Romantic Individualism

How can it be that a profession which was born admidst socio-economic emergencies that threatened the harmonious development of the individual has managed to virtually ignore the influence of the environment (Lecomte, 1981)?

Ivey (1980) discusses this question in terms of the "Parsonian Error", which ostensibly affects counselling and guidance. This error consists of attaching importance only to the person in the person-environment equation proposed by Parsons, despite the fact that the psychology of counselling and guidance is essentially defined in terms of person-environment interactions. Although Parsons (1909) underscored the importance of considering the individual and the environment, he nonetheless accorded more attention to the individual, often attempting to make the individual adapt to the environment. This almost total acceptance of the environment often resulted in counsellors' becoming agents of integration into the social system, and even more so in unwanted oppression of, or injustice toward, the individual.

Explicitly or implicitly, this same error seems to recur in the practice of counselling and guidance. Counselling and guidance have remained essentially individual processes. We have not learned to work effectively in relation to person-environment interactions. It is undoubtedly easier to understand an individual than to have to understand the complex relationships between an individual and his/her environment and intervene in such a context.

Such centering on the individual all too often leads the counsellor to limit his/her interventions to the strictly individual level. A number of counsellors are increasingly restricting themselves to interventions of the psychotherapeutic variety when dealing with individuals. A significant number of counsellors are even taking training or ongoing training centered mainly on intervention and individual growth, without taking into account environmental con-

tingencies. Even the psycho-educational model proposed by Ivey (1976), aimed at the formation of central skills in people's lives, was limited to individual development. Little attention was paid to treating individuals, their institutions and their reciprocal influences. It must be recognized that the best known theories of counselling and guidance are initially formulated in terms of individual development.

A second level of explanation addresses the postulates contained in the theories of guidance used by counsellors. One such postulate consists of believing that an individual who is well motivated, has information and guidance will attain complete fulfilment in a job through an expression of the characteristics of his/her personality. Such a postulate supposes that any job may be completely satisfying for the individual (Warnath, 1975). Such postulates do not seem to take into account the fact that for more and more individuals, automation and technology increasingly signify basic jobs in which the needs of the individual are largely ignored. For some, work has become a scarcely bearable necessity. A recension of more than 100 studies carried out by Rice, Near and Hunt (1980) indicates that at best, the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction is .30. Indeed, if an attempt is made to predict life satisfaction on the basis of job satisfaction, scarcely 10% of the variance in life satisfaction is explained. Such results totally contradict the individualistic and romantic vision which is often transmitted by guidance and counselling theories. In fact, only a small minority may now claim that their work is essential for their personal development. Such observations call into question the conceptual bases of the practice of guidance.

The romantic individualism underlying guidance and counselling has often consisted of believing that anything is possible if one takes the necessary measures, that work is noble and dignified and that the individual has within him/herself the ability to function and develop independently of environmental constraints. These postulates have led the counsellor to ignore all too often that the best indicators of vocational choices are socio-economic class, and social and sexual origin, rather than aptitudes and interests. In this individualistic perspective, self-fulfilment has been conceived in terms of personal characteristics which ignore the reality of social influences, particularly in the workaday world.

Counsellors define themselves as humanists whose aim it is to help the individual develop him/herself to the maximum of his/her potential. However, neither theoricians nor practicians have managed to resolve the major conflict between

individual needs and those of the economic system. We do know, however, that economic imperatives are generally the most decisive in people's lives. The experience of workers is hardly reflected in guidance and counselling concepts. As Ferkiss (1970) has pointed out, it has become a myth to believe in the happy, satisfied worker.

The "Parsonian Error" and romantic individualism, two ills which have greatly affected guidance and counselling, have undoubtedly contributed to ensuring that the most critical research variables receive little attention. Such a state of affairs perhaps explains why published research has so little relevance as a guide for professional practice.

On another plane, the "Parsonian Error" and romantic individualism risk leading to another more disastrous effect that Suppe (1974) termed a process of "secondary ignorance." This process is characterized by the constant confirmation of the expectations maintained by researchers or practicians, or both. Such a practice leads to the creation of a closed, solidly anchored cycle of confirmation which causes the researcher to only look in a selective fashion for the evidence required, while systematically avoiding experiments which might refute his/her convictions. The main effect of this pernicious state of "secondary ignorance" is that people affected by it reach a state where they no longer know what they do not know or understand.

An analysis of research and practices in the psychology of guidance and counselling appears to indicate a clear tendency to ignore the influence of nonetheless crucial environmental variables in the individual's development and to constantly endeavour to explain vocational development, for example, from an essentially individualistic viewpoint. It is pertinent, at this juncture, to ask ourselves if guidance and counselling are not afflicted with this disastrous ill, "secondary ignorance." This diagnosis seems all the more evident when one notes that researchers intend to continue studying vocational development, for example, while attaching only minimal importance to environmental influences. One might ask if these researchers have not become prisoners of the vicious circle encompassing the confirmation of their expectations based on selective observations of reality. This phenomenon can be better understood when one observes that researchers are often relative captives of information filtered by the professional journals they read, which only reflect the knowledge fostered by one discipline. The practice of "secondary ignorance" strongly risks being a complicated ill, and one which is difficult to treat because its adherents arrive at solidly established categories of knowledge on, for

example, self-actualization and self-fulfilment, which blind them to other dimensions. According to writers such as Goldman (1976), this necessitates nothing less than a revolution or even, according to Kuhn (1962b, 1970) the shattering of a paradigm.

The Counsellor's Psycho-social Identity

The most important contributions made by counselling and guidance reside at the level of numerous services offered first and foremost to the individual, within the humanist perspective of personal development. While recognizing the importance of these contributions, we must point out the counsellor's absence on the social, political and economic planes. In light of the considerable human problems caused by the economic crisis in the workaday world — problems which affect thousands of people — it is astonishing to note the relative absence of counselling and guidance. The most important initiatives and conceptual leadership in relation to the crisis among workers have come from the popular and religious milieux. It seems that even in times of economic crisis, the counsellor is still hardly socially involved. One should perhaps not expect anything more from a profession which has become centered on personal development, without taking into account environmental contingencies.

Considerable controversy continues to surround how much importance should be attached to curative, preventive and developmental approaches. Several writers, including Super (1979) severely criticize counsellors for flirting excessively with clinical psychology, by dwelling too much on curative approaches. It appears that more than 40% of the counsellor's work objectives are of a remedial nature. Consequently, various psycho-therapeutic approaches are now used regularly by a number of them. As Lecomte (1981) has pointed out, the social system in which we live continues to attach greater importance to curative approaches which resemble the medical model. The absence of a psycho-social vision of the individual and the environment has undoubtedly contributed to the deterioration of the identity of guidance and counselling. The preventive and developmental approaches — among the most relevant — which should have enabled guidance and counselling to make considerable strides have unfortunately remained programs which are still overly restricted to the individual. Nonetheless, if these approaches were planned in a social or community perspective, they could have a considerable impact, particularly in the current socio-economic situation.

A number of people are increasingly asking themselves about the value and the necessity of guidance in several

milieux. Major budget cuts have given concrete meaning to administrators' and taxpayers' doubts. Aside from the reasons discussed up until now, this calling into question may also be attributed to the absence of evidence of the efficacy and the accountability of guidance services. Some counsellors have not learned to assess the services offered in a manner which is both systematic and integrated to their practice. Such a situation makes them particularly vulnerable to budget cuts.

In the coming years, counsellors must face a double challenge: redefine counselling and guidance, and demonstrate its accountability and its efficacy. Given such challenges, it strikes me as being highly relevant to attempt to delineate a framework for reflection which might contribute to the future development of guidance and counselling.

The Future of Guidance and Counselling from an Ethological and Ecological Point of View

The future of guidance and counselling seems closely linked to its capacity to rediscover and operationalize person-environment and interactions. The achievement of such an objective will be largely facilitated if intervention and research in guidance and counselling are formulated in a human ethological and ecological perspective. In this section, I will endeavour to elucidate the major elements of such a perspective.

Guidance: a Question of Person-Environment Transactions

The first theories respecting guidance and counselling were made in the perspective of interaction between the individual and his/her environment. Parsons (1909) pointed out the importance for the individual of thoroughly knowing and understanding who he/she is in his/her various manifestations, such as aptitudes, skills, interests and limits, of having an enlightened knowledge of his/her environment, and of reasoning on the relationships between these two entities. Unfortunately, as we saw earlier, guidance has, first and foremost, devoted itself only to the dimensions of the individual. The influence of the environment has hardly been studied; moreover, interactions between the individual and the environment have hardly been explored at all.

It seems imperative that, in future, person-environment transactions be at the very heart of guidance and counselling activities. A number of recent theories lead us to believe that such a goal may be attained. Bandura (1978) proposes an exceedingly relevant position for such a perspective. In a very

articulate model, he conceives self-development from the viewpoint of reciprocal determinism between the environment and the person. Such a formulation makes it possible to clearly understand and assert that counsellors' interventions should be directed essentially toward person-environment transactions which are decisive factors in the person's development. The counsellor then becomes a specialist of the interactive processes between the person and the environment, rather than an expert on the individual or the environment, or both.

Such a perspective makes it possible to rediscover the importance of the workaday world and the appreciable influence it has on a person's well being (Barker, 1968). Person-environment transactions undoubtedly represent the very essence of a valid understanding of the working world, such as it is experienced by the individual. How can problems like absenteeism, alcoholism, stress and work accidents, among others, be explained without an understanding of person-environment transactions in the place of work? How can alienation and the limited motivation and creativity of workers be understood without, for example, our being aware of the effects of repetitive, isolated and automated work? How is it possible to intervene in a realistic, relevant fashion to help an unemployed person who becomes physically violent in his/her family, without an understanding of the reciprocal determinism which exists between the environment and this person's characteristics?

The importance of person-environment transactions seems crucial with respect to the definition of the counsellor's identity in the coming years. Counsellors will continue to take an interest in various targets, such as marriage, the family, and the elderly, while constantly maintaining person-environment transactions as the focus of their work. However, if I had to choose a priority for the years to come, I would not hesitate to establish that guidance and counselling be concerned first and foremost with the workaday world and its numerous ramifications. A broader understanding of the socio-psychological aspects of work make it possible to situate the numerous influences exerted by work on the individual, his/her physical and psychological health, the family, the couple, children's education, and even children's development. Recent studies devoted to the effects of unemployment offer disturbing and highly revealing insights into the importance of work (Catalano *et al*, 1981).

Counselling and guidance thus become the study of person-environment transactions in order to facilitate the development of the individual and of the significant milieux

(family, group, institution). This work then becomes a task which is more complex than psychotherapy. Not only must the counsellor be thoroughly acquainted with the person and his/her environment, but more important still, he/she must comprehend the dynamic dimensions of the interactions between the person and the environment.

The Theoretical and Methodological Implications of Person-Environment Transactions

The Emergence of a New Paradigm in Helping Relationships

In the search for appropriate interventions with respect to person-environment transactions it seems relevant to attempt to specify what we have learned through interventions centered on individual change. Our current understanding of this question may enable us to identify certain variables and germane courses to be considered.

The field of the helping relationship and of individual psychotherapy seems to be increasingly characterized by a state of questioning and the emergence of new tendencies. Such a state of affairs presages, according to Kuhn (1970), that the abandonment of a paradigm is imminent.

This calling into question displays itself especially in the following manner: (1) more and more counsellors and psychologists are dissatisfied with the exclusive contributions of specific theoretical orientations (for example, the gestalt or behavioural approaches); (2) more and more counsellors and psychologists are defining themselves as eclectics; (3) a clear tendency towards new convergences is apparent.

Studies by Garfield and Kurtz (1976), Prochaska and Nocross (1982) and Wantz (1982) indicate that more than 55% of psychologists and counsellors define themselves as eclectics. It seems that the exclusive schools such as psychoanalysis and behavioural therapy are being abandoned increasingly in favour of more multimodal approaches, or approaches which integrate behavioural and cognitive dimensions.

This calling into question is largely based on the following research (Garfield and Bergin, 1978): (1) the comparative study of psychotherapeutic systems does not indicate any significant differences; (2) there are no significant differences in effectiveness between therapeutic methods of varying durations; (3) studies comparing high-qualified professionals with non-professionals bring out substantial doubts respecting the significant effects of training and experience on therapeutic efficacy.

These various observations have led increasingly large numbers of researchers and practicians to recognize that the hermetic language and methods of each school of thought

have perhaps prevented us from reflecting more broadly and deeply on therapeutic change. Such an undertaking seems to demonstrate the existence of factors which are common to all psychotherapeutic systems. The common factors may perhaps explain the absence of significant differences between the various psychotherapeutic systems (Lecomte, 1982). Frank (1961, 1973) has perhaps contributed the most to articulating the existence of common factors. For Frank, these factors present themselves first and foremost as a state of demoralization on the part of the client and as a relationship having the attributes of interpersonal influence: expertise, attraction and confidence. Other factors, such as expectations and motivation, among others, are also pointed out. Without wishing to be exhaustive, suffice it for us to say that these various observations seem to indicate new convergences in individual psychotherapy, beyond the specific formulations of current theoretical orientations.

Thus, it will be relevant for the psychology of counselling and guidance to take into account these new convergences, especially common factors, with respect to the process of helping relationships.

A detailed analysis of the literature devoted to the critical elements of the impact of individual psychotherapy (Garfield and Bergin, 1978) has numerous implications for counselling and guidance. This analysis suggests that: (1) regardless of the type of psychotherapy, client variables constitute the most central element, on which the success or failure of the therapy depend (Garfield, 1978). This first point indicates that the clients who benefit the most from psychotherapy are those who are the least troubled, who have the most resources, are the most motivated and have the greatest social support. (2) Secondly, variables linked to the therapist's person play an important role with respect to the efficacy of the therapy (for example, cognitive style). (3) It is only in third place that research underscores the influence of techniques and specific procedures of various therapies. This data calls into question practices and training in applied psychology. It appears that instead of devoting most of their energies in training to various therapeutic techniques, psychologists and counsellors would do well to pay closer attention to understanding the concrete significance of the numerous variables of the client.

Overall, these data have a number of implications with respect to the practitioner in counselling and guidance. First and foremost, it seems essential for the counsellor to recognize the primacy of the characteristics of the client and his/her environment. Such an assertion once again

underlines the importance of redefining counselling and guidance in terms of person-environment interactions. It is no doubt possible to assert that the success of any helping relationship is based essentially on a detailed knowledge of the client's situation. It is nonetheless astonishing to note that a number of counsellors devote most of their time and money to mastering various specialized techniques, including, for example, gestalt and reality therapy, and relatively little time to strategies which enable them to thoroughly understand variables related to the clients and their environment. Some writers even claim that nearly 60% of any personal change would depend upon variables respecting the client and his/her milieu, such as motivation and social support among others.

The results of research devoted to psychotherapy leads us to acknowledge the limits of interventions in one therapeutic system in relation to another. This observation suggests that our interventions must undoubtedly be envisaged in a context of relativism which underscores the complexity of the person. Consequently, it is utopian to think that it is possible to finally formulate a psychotherapy which is markedly superior to the others and which will be the definitive response to change. Psychotherapy then becomes essentially pluralist and relativist (Lecomte, 1980).

Current research in the field of psychotherapy suggests that it is above all effective with those suffering from neuroses, and relatively ineffectual in dealing with psychoses, delinquency and addiction. The preferred client of a number of counsellors is what Schofield (1964) called the "Yavis" (a young, attractive, verbal, intelligent and successful client). Several writers (Goldstein, 1973; Schofield, 1964) conclude that psychotherapy and individual counselling are offered to those who least need it.

Our review of literature on individual psychotherapy revealed the emergence of a new helping relationship paradigm in which the following elements seem fundamental: (1) the relativism of specific interventions in the various psychotherapeutic systems; (2) the complexity of the person; (3) the crucial importance of the variables respecting the client and his/her milieu in any helping relationship; (4) the gradual identification of factors common to any helping relationship therapeutic process.

Guidance: a Problem-solving Process

The problem-solving process (D'Zurilla and Golfried, 1971) will increasingly be considered as the very essence of person-environment transactions. Any counselling or guidance intervention reposes essentially on decision-making

which is designed to solve a problem. Such decisions are required with respect to interventions concerning the environment and the individual. An approach suited to person-environment transactions will demand a more complex problem-solving process in order to take into account the interactive factors involved.

Despite the fairly widespread use of problem-solving strategies, numerous methodological and theoretical problems remain unsolved. Indeed, aside from problem-solving and decision-making, the main steps which are already known, we have little precise knowledge about the behaviour of clients and counsellors which facilitates problem-solving. Thus, it would be useful to know what sorts of behaviour differentiate those who succeed in solving their problems in relation to those who have a low rate of success (Heppner, 1978). We know little about desirable behaviour on the part of the client with regard to clearly defining a problem, generating alternatives, making a decision, evaluating it, and reaching an effective solution. Moreover, there is little valid empirical evidence available to guide the counsellor in his/her choice of behaviour in order to facilitate the solution of the client's problem. For example, what strategies, on the part of the counsellor, most strongly favour the making of an efficacious, relevant decision? Research on decision-making in natural milieux is virtually non-existent. As the problem-solving paradigm seems to be the most central process in counselling and guidance, it appears crucial that more research, especially in natural milieux, be carried out in order to help the counsellor in his/her job as a decision-making facilitator.

It seems relevant for the counsellor to recognize that his/her work with clients and environments is continually based on a decision-making process (Nisbett and Ross, 1980; Kanfer and Goldstein, 1980). Decision-making has important consequences with respect to the choice of strategies and in relation to the carrying out of an intervention. These decisions are subject to different biases. Some research shows increasingly the influence of factors such as interpersonal attraction (Wills, 1978), and socio-economic class (Garfield, 1971) with respect to counsellors' decision-making in the course of a helping relationship. This is a field of study which merits serious investigation in the coming years. A number of research projects on the subject are already underway at the Université de Montréal (Tremblay and Lecomte, 1982), which highlights the importance of this process in the helping relationship.

Certain theories may help the counsellor in his/her attempts to apply the problem-solving process to person-environment transactions. Kelly (1955) advises the counsellor to attempt to understand the way in which the client organizes and comprehends his/her reality according to a grid of constructs. This perspective may facilitate a comprehension of personal and environmental variables such as they are experienced and conceived by the client. Beyond the personal constructs of the client, the counsellor will have to proceed with an assessment of environmental factors (Barker, 1968). Supported by proposals from writers such as Lewin (1935), Bandura (1977), and Hunt and Sullivan (1974), the counsellor will find it advantageous to conceptualize his/her interventions which affect person-environment transactions in the perspective put forth by Lewis and Lewis (1977) in terms of community counselling.

The Attribution and Expectations of Self-efficacy: Key Concepts for Change

Among the most important concepts which may be relevant to guidance and counselling, the causal attribution and expectations of personal efficacy must be retained. These concepts may facilitate a better ongoing understanding of the successes and failures of attempts to solve a problem in light of the complexity of the interactions of personal and environmental variables. Expectations of personal efficacy are directed to an individual's sense of mastery in relation to the environment. Attribution leads the individual to determine his/her vision of the causality of events and behaviour according to external or internal dimensions.

The concept of self-efficacy merits special attention in relation to the study of change. According to Bandura (1977), this concept is addressed to the expectations which a person harbours in terms of being able to accomplish certain activities, thereby enabling him/her to successfully attain his/her objectives. Such a formulation suggests that any form of counselling and guidance may be efficacious to the extent that the degree of certainty of learning certain skills, for example, is sufficient. The role of expectations in counselling has been know for a long time (Bernstein and Lecomte, 1982; Cyr, Lecomte and Bernstein, 1982). However, we owe it to Bandura (1977) to have more clearly articulated this concept. He discerns degree, magnitude, and generality in measuring expectations of the conviction of being able to successfully accomplish certain tasks. Moreover, Bandura (1977) distinguishes between process expectations and outcomes expectations. Such a distinction makes it possible to specify what a person thinks his/her

chances are of succeeding at certain specific tasks, in relation to his/her overall chances for success.

Such a concept has important implications for counselling and guidance. Expectations of self-efficacy are inextricably linked to a person's sense of mastery, competence and responsibility. Bandura's research (1977) suggests that this concept perhaps constitutes a mediating process of the highest importance, which makes it possible to explain the persistence of changes obtained in counselling. Various research undertaken in counselling (Cyr and Lecomte, 1982; Sicuro and Lecomte, 1982) and in marriage counselling (Fish and Lecomte, 1982) seem to underscore the importance of studying this concept.

Expectations of self-efficacy warrant further study within the context of the reciprocal determinism of the environment and the person. We still know too little about the way in which the change is made (Karoly, 1977), particularly in real-life situations. It is perhaps important to point out that the most decisive forces with respect to expectations of self-efficacy are first and foremost concrete, personal experiences of success. Vicarious influences, or influences related to verbal persuasion or emotional stimulation, while they are important, are less efficacious in the formation of a sense of mastery and personal competence.

A second concept which is receiving more and more attention in counselling and guidance is that of attribution. Attribution is a concept which derives from research dealing with the perception of the person in social psychology (Jones, Kanouse, Kelley, Nisbett, Kalins and Weiner, 1972). Essentially, attribution approaches see the person functioning as a scientist, obtaining information from his/her milieu, and attempting to discern the causes and the consequences of behavioural and environmental events. This movement fully displays the influence of cognitive psychology.

Attribution approaches represent an attempt to determine the perception of motivation within oneself and within others (Kelley, 1973). The central proposition of this theory is that the person perceives behaviour as having either an external or an internal cause, that is, either in the observer or the environment. Rightly or wrongly, the person then seeks to find reasons for the displaying of particular behaviour. Such research enables him/her to subsequently predict future events (Heider, 1958). One of the crucial decisions which the person must make is to determine if responsibility for an action depends upon the environment or the person. Fundamentally, according to Jones and Davis (1965), the

person manages to estimate the degree of responsibility, of justification and of intentionality of observed behaviour.

The implications for counselling and guidance are immediately apparent. One can imagine the importance for a manpower counsellor, for example, of thoroughly understanding how an unemployed person arrives at his/her attributions, that is, how he/she assesses environmental forces in relation to his/her personal forces. A detailed understanding of attribution processes may prove to be a valuable aid in counselling and in guidance. Attribution approaches present a specific contribution to a vision of counselling and guidance in terms of person-environment transactions. Indeed, any attribution supposes, first of all, an evaluation of the individual's and the environment's forces. A number of very relevant applications have already been initiated in counselling (Strong, 1970). This field of application seems very promising.

To conclude, it seems important to point out that concepts respecting attribution and expectations of personal efficacy represent important contributions for the operationalization of person-environment transactions in counselling and guidance.

The Computer: a Machine to be Mastered

No prediction concerning the future of guidance and counselling can be made without taking into account the appreciable influence which the computer may have in the coming years. Already, the computer is playing a vital role in our daily lives. It is not by chance that *Time* magazine named the computer Machine of the Year in 1982, instead of selecting a Man of the Year as it has done in the past. The computer will likely be a positive adjunct in our lives insofar as we ensure the humanization of its contributions. It is anticipated that counselling and guidance will benefit from the computer's advantages in relation to their interventions which affect person-environment transactions.

The intrusion of computers in our daily lives is more and more obvious; their influence is now felt in almost every school and home. Already, a number of educators feel that computers have outdistanced them and made them obsolete. The workaday world has been revolutionized by computers. For some workers, computers mean a loss of jobs and dehumanizing work. It seems that the advent and the influence of the computer have occurred without there having been time to develop a framework of values and civilisation in order to situate and integrate its influence. It appears increasingly urgent to dwell upon the philosophical, psychological, physical, spiritual and social implications of

the influence exercised by computers on our lives, otherwise, Orwell's predictions in *1984* are very likely to become a reality.

The computer's influence has already been felt to a certain extent in counselling and guidance. Too few counsellors know and thoroughly understand data processing systems. Immense potential exists for applying the computer to scholastic and professional information and to the decision-making process. Rayman and Bowlsbey (1977) have already suggested using the computer in guidance, according to three generations: a first generation consisting of the accumulation of information and access systems; a second generation supplying information almost instantaneously; and a third generation of immediate access to content going beyond information, such as "Discover". This third generation endeavours to take into account individual differences such as values. A somewhat complex example of this third generation was developed by *Educational Testing Service* (Mosaic, 1979); it is an interactive guidance and information system which essentially takes into account students' values rather than aptitudes and occupations. It is apparently still too early to assess the value of these programs. However, it is obvious that the computer's influence in counselling and guidance is here to stay. Already, a number of research projects have shown the usefulness of computers in counselling and guidance. Two studies undertaken by Wagman (1980) and Wagman and Kerber (1980) have shown that the use of an interactive data processing system for personal counselling had positive effects for several months, and that clients felt more at ease, and more independent with a computer than with a counsellor. Such results have considerable implications for counselling and guidance. It appears urgent for counsellors to become familiar as quickly as possible with computer systems and their language, so that computers are used in a beneficial manner, according to the spirit of counselling and guidance.

Self-development and Mutual Aid Groups

While the 60s were characterized by the concepts of personal and social freedom and the 70s were the years of the "me" generation, the 80s will be marked by self-development. A Delphi study carried out by Prochaska and Nocross (1982) among authorities in counselling and psychotherapy suggests that self-change approaches will develop considerably in the coming years. Thus, the numerous procedures for self-control and self-change will be very popular. the same writers predict that mutual aid groups will be more impor-

tant than any other form of group therapy in the coming years.

Some ascribe these tendencies to recent reductions in service. Others consider them to be the logical outcome of the movement which began in the 60s, aimed at making psychology increasingly accessible in the lives of everyone. Wrenn (1980) also predicted that peer groups will also undergo major developments, while Esalen and NTL groups will tend to decline in importance.

We know little about self-change in the natural milieu; however, we have reason to believe that the use of cognitive and behavioural change processes will be very relevant (Garfield, 1981). It appears that the contributions of counselling and guidance with respect to problem solving and the numerous procedures for acquiring skills may be very germane to such developments. Such conceptualized strategies within the framework of person-environment transactions might significantly contribute to self-change approaches and to mutual aid groups. Already in Québec, Limoges (1982) has adapted the contributions of Kagan (1973) in a perspective of mutual aid groups. It is very likely that such initiatives will, to a large extent, be one of the future courses for counselling and guidance.

Life Satisfaction: a Holistic and Developmental Perspective

For several years, counsellors incorrectly believed that work was the principal indicator of life satisfaction. Research (Rice, Near, Hunt, 1980) has since clearly demonstrated that scarcely 10% of the variance in life satisfaction was explained by work. In the coming years, it will be important for the counsellor to envisage satisfaction in life in a broader perspective.

On the one hand, such a goal will necessitate a holistic vision of the person (Huff, 1978) based on multiple indicators Blau, 1977). Moreover, the counsellor will have to thoroughly understand the stages of the person's development, as Levinson (1978) and Sheehy (1976) have suggested, in order to properly situate counselling with respect to life satisfaction in general.

In the workaday world, the concept of counselling for life satisfaction may have considerable implications. Based on the observation that more than 90% of life satisfaction is not explained by work, a counsellor will perhaps have to examine other possible sources of satisfaction with the individual. Rather than persist in endeavouring to give a more satisfying meaning to a job that is not satisfying, the counsellor will perhaps be increasingly called upon to help the individual lead a more satisfying life through involve-

ment in other activities, such as music or carpentry. At best, it is not unthinkable that a company might offer such activities to its employees in order to enable them to achieve more satisfaction in their lives. For an impressive number of persons who are dissatisfied, depressed, disillusioned and unproductive for a multitude of reasons, such as repetition, isolation and frustration, a counselling perspective aimed at giving them more satisfaction in life, realistically and with respect to their everyday existence, could prove to be an essential objective in the coming years.

Human Ethology Perspectives with Regard to Research in Counselling and Guidance

In recent years, along with many other writers (Thoresen, 1969, 1978; Goldman, 1977), I have become more and more sceptical about what is often called scientific research in counselling and guidance. Too much published research employing cumbersome and complex technology borrowed from the exact sciences has given few relevant, valid results. In order to reply satisfactorily to the questions posed by Krumboltz (1968) on the importance, the relevance and the utility of research in counselling, it will perhaps be necessary to consider avenues other than those we have followed up until now. Indeed, in order to respond to the challenges posed by the study of person-environment transactions, it is essential that we innovate with respect to our research methods.

As Lecomte, Dumont and Zingle (1981), Mahoney (1976) and Thoresen (1978) have pointed out, it is vital that researchers recognize that any research is above all a projet which is human in nature. Thoresen (1978) even speaks of an intimist, intense human relationship in which subjectivity and inferences play a predominant role. Such an awareness has enabled us to relativize our research procedures and methods. For example, a number of us now recognize that research methods do not exist independently of the phenomena studied. Pluralist perspectives in light of the complexity and the multidimensionality of change (Garfield and Bergin, 1978; Lecomte *et al*, 1981) underscore the fact that no research method, in the abstract, is superior to the others.

What research methods should we consider in the coming years, in order to render justice to the complexity of person-environment interactions in counselling and guidance? Basically, it is perhaps more precisely a question of asking ourselves how we can thoroughly understand how individuals live and make decisions in their natural milieux. Oddly enough, current research methods have not enabled us

to really answer such a question. Perhaps we have tried too hard to prove each of our hypothetical truths without having available valid, accurate information on the individuals in their natural milieu. The research methods currently in use have not enabled us to understand the nature and the impact of psychological interventions in counselling and psychotherapy (Strupp and Hadley, 1977). We should perhaps ask ourselves if the use of a methodology respecting so-called homogeneous groups in a statistical manner in a laboratory, and for a limited time, based on dubious instruments, makes it possible to generalize about, and understand, complex and dynamic phenomena in the lives of individuals (Tremblay, 1982). It seems urgent to me to identify new research procedures in order to fully comprehend how the person behaves in real life. In order to do so, we will have to rediscover an old tradition in human sciences which is practised by researchers such as Mead (1976), that is, detailed, prolonged observation, and rigorous description. In this regard, ethology, insofar as it is the study of the behaviour of organisms in their natural habitat, through systematic observations and rigorous descriptions, offers a very relevant methodological design in counselling and guidance. Such an approach might enable us to accumulate essential data, which would provide a more solid basis for our theories and interventions.

The ethological approach has already experienced numerous applications in child psychology and developmental psychology (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The study by Levinson (1978) devoted to the development of 40 adult males clearly bears witness to the potential of an ethological approach over a period of two years. Despite the methodological limitations of such a study, the implications of the results are fascinating in terms of the multiple problems experienced by these men. Other partial applications have been made in the systematic observation of the behaviour of assertive and non-assertive subjects (Trower, 1980; Schwartz and Gottman, 1971). These studies made it possible to formulate new hypotheses in the study of assertive behaviour.

The current application of the ethological approach is too heavily centered on indirect measures such as interviews and questionnaires. In order, for example, to fully understand the person having problems at work we will have to proceed increasingly with direct, non-interventionist observations in the natural milieu, on several occasions. Time series analyses (Glass, Wilson and Gottman, 1975) offer numerous possibilities in this respect. These methods suggest collecting

data repeatedly over long periods of time. In order to arrive at valid, accurate observations and descriptions of behaviour, we will first have to take time to develop instruments to carry out this task, to observe and systematically describe the person in his/her natural environment (Mead, 1976).

The strength and the relevance of the ethological approach in counselling will partly depend upon its ability to achieve ecological validity (Brunswick, 1943; Zimmer, 1978), that is, to present a research design which is representative of the complexity of person-environment transactions. Moreover, this relevance will be all the more certain as phenomenological descriptions will be made in order to thoroughly comprehend the significance of the universe studied.

Human ethology and ecological approaches may make it possible to better understand the richness and complexity of person-environment interactions in counselling and guidance. In particular, this perspective will bring about the rectification of the "Parsonian Error" and romantic individualism which are still all too present in research in guidance and counselling. In fact, instead of prematurely searching for the relationships of cause and effect in an illusory fashion, the researcher in counselling might first make systematic observations and rigorous descriptions of behaviour which has been accorded high priority in the natural environment. This approach underlines the importance of choosing variables which are ecologically relevant and significant. Gottfredson (1982) suggests proceeding in the following manner in order to arrive at ecologically relevant variables: (1) first, by identifying the most common problems in counselling and guidance in a concrete way. For example, "how to find a job" rather than vague research into vocational maturity. (2) Identify those populations which run the highest risk of having to face different problems. At the moment, one has the impression that guidance and counselling are only concerned with the student. (3) Study the relative importance of person-environment influences on the development of the person. As Krumboltz (1968) has suggested, the researcher should essentially ask him/herself the following questions in establishing priorities and in carrying out research: (a) is the problem more important than others in counselling and guidance? (b) will the results of this research contribute significantly to solving the problem? The use of the ethological approach, while taking into account ecological validity, should lead the researcher to use exploratory statistical techniques for data analysis (Hartwig and Dearing, 1979) in order to become thoroughly ac-

quainted with the characteristics of the data before proceeding with an inferential approach.

To conclude, more qualitative guidance methods deserve to be carefully examined in our search for methods appropriate to the study of human behaviour in natural milieux. Models for anthropological, legal or sociological research in which observation and judgment play an important role may well provide a partial response to the challenges posed by the complexity of person-environment interactions.

The Training of Counsellors: a Problem of Integration

The educational experience in counselling and guidance is still too fragmented, and is organized in separate components: theory, research and practice. All too often, competence consists of a number of credits obtained, which has more to do with the accumulation of knowledge rather than its use (Lecomte, 1980). How can we train future counsellors who are capable of facing the psycho-social challenges of the coming years? In particular, what training bases will enable us to give future counsellors the skills they require to respond adequately to the demands made by a context for guidance and counselling in which person-environment transactions are central?

First of all, it is imperative that training emphasize pluralist, multidimensional and relativist perspectives in the study of human behaviour, not only in terms of theory and practice, but with respect to research methods.

In order to avoid training which is all too often linear and imbued with theoretical, practical and scientific notion, it might be possible to envisage a perspective involving constant integration of theory and real targets for application, encouched in scientific and practical terms. Kiesler (1980) reminds us, quite rightly, that the scientist-professional model has perhaps failed up until now because it has never actually been applied. Perhaps the best way to train scientist-professionals is to have future counsellors actually live concrete experiences respecting the integration of theory, research and practice.

We may ask ourselves about the training demands which are implicit in competently dealing with the following major parameters: (1) the calling into question of the helping relationship with respect to pluralists perspectives; (2) the reciprocal determinism of variables related to the person and the environment in the development of the person; (3) the use of ethological and ecological research methods. These various parameters seem to clearly underscore the impor-

tance which critical reflection will have, given the philosophical foundations of our options. Indeed, skills related to observation, judgment, logic and intuition will be essential in light of the demands made by a form of counselling which use ethological and ecological approaches. The complexity and the multiplicity of possible approaches with respect to person-environment interactions will increasingly require that the counsellor possess critical thinking skills.

In light of the challenges which will arise in the coming years, counselling and guidance urgently require thinkers. Walton (1982) feels that counselling and guidance are lacking in critical, active thinkers. Scarcely 10% of those responsible for training in counselling and guidance regularly contribute to professional and scientific journals. It therefore seems imperative that particular attention be paid to the critical mind and to the development of conceptual models. Training in inferential processes which are common to research and practice appear to be a very relevant avenue (Barkely, 1982; Lecomte and Bernstein, 1975).

Current training models seem to respond to new developments in society by restricting themselves to adding new content to courses (Wantz, 1982). Such important questions as the role of practice, role play and supervision methods have not yet been clearly dealt with (Hansen *et al*, 1982).

Future perspectives in guidance and counselling suggest that it will be a profession in which training will be more demanding and complex than psychotherapy and individual intervention. Such an assertion should have considerable implications for selection, training and ongoing courses.

Competence: an Ongoing Process of Self-evaluation

The proliferation of knowledge raises serious questions concerning the necessity for counsellors to take ongoing training in order to maintain an adequate level of competence. As Dilley (1978) has pointed out, counsellors who were trained 10, 5 or even 3 years ago are probably not facing the new demands made by their profession with the necessary skills. It is illusory to think that knowledge acquired at the university guarantees perpetual competence (Bernstein and Lecomte, 1981).

Socio-economic changes, among others, are increasingly demanding that the counsellor demonstrate his/her social usefulness and his/her accountability. Such a situation requires the counsellor to continually demonstrate his/her competence. It is urgent for the counsellor to realize that practising his/her profession is not a right but a privilege

granted to him/her by a society, on the assumption that he/she is highly competent and highly useful.

A number of counsellors are already convinced of the importance of ongoing training in maintaining an adequate level of competence in their practice. Unfortunately, the counsellor all too often finds him/herself without criteria for selecting further training. The choice of courses or workshops is often based more on external criteria than on a detailed assessment of his/her practice. One may question the results of such random training on the professional limits and resources of a milieu.

In order to assist the counsellor in choosing training in such a way that it is integrated to his/her professional development, an approach based on self-evaluation and self-supervision seems the most relevant (Bernstein and Lecomte, 1979; Lecomte and Bernstein, 1978). Further training based on self-evaluation is aimed at helping the counsellor evaluate him/herself in his/her professional practice, using criteria derived from the development of knowledge. Based on this criterion reference, the counsellor may then request feedback from peer-experts of his/her choice, using an available list. The experts chosen send him/her an assessment of his/her practice based on the same criteria used by the counsellor. The study of the convergences and divergences of these evaluations will act as a guide to the counsellor in the planning of his/her need for ongoing training. Such a methodology, used periodically in the professional life of a counsellor will facilitate the development of self-supervision skills which are perhaps the best guarantee of a counsellor's competence.

Lecomte (1982) has operationalized such a self-evaluation and self-supervision program for the training of psychologists in counselling, and for the professional corporations in psychology and guidance in Québec.

Such a practice has numerous advantages: (1) it ensures the active collaboration of counsellors in the evaluation of their interventions; (2) it maximizes the relevant choices with regard to further training; (3) it ensures ongoing competence; (4) it fosters openness with respect to the evaluation of interventions; (5) it facilitates the improvement and the social accountability of services.

In light of constant changes in the workaday world, it seems logical to postulate that self-evalution programs, in terms of skills and intervention strategies which foster professional autonomy and competence, will be crucial. The integration of self-evaluation procedures with regard to peer

evaluation gives professional credibility to such an undertaking (Clairborn, Stricker and Bent, 1982).

Given the negative attitudes displayed by counsellors with respect to the evaluation of their interventions (Lecomte, Bernstein, Blais and Tremblay, 1981), it seems relevant to carry out the self-evaluation process on a private, anonymous basis. What is important is to provide the instruments and criteria necessary for the counsellor to assess his/her practice. This self-evaluation may be applied to theoretical, practical and scientific dimensions. Such a methodology finally leads a profession to demonstrate to society its ability to assume responsibility for itself, in order to maintain and develop its competence, thereby ensuring the protection of the public.

On the basis of a methodology for professional self-evaluation, it is possible to envisage the coherent planning of further training and university training. Moreover, it is possible to plan, in a subsequent stage, valid, relevant procedures for permits and accreditation.

In the same vein, it seems relevant to help the counsellor in his/her personal development. Several writers have pointed out feelings of alienation, frustration and apathy, often resulting from the stress and dissatisfaction arising from a counsellor's work (Garte and Rosenblum, 1978; Washburn, 1979). Burnt-out counsellors are becoming increasingly common. Self-evaluation procedures seem crucial to help the counsellor become aware of such problems and rectify them accordingly. Such an undertaking, which is essentially preventive and educative, may make it possible to avoid consequences that are costly for the individual, the profession and society at large.

Conclusion

What should we retain of this overview of the major parameters of the future of guidance and counselling? First, that the future of guidance and counselling perhaps depends on the attainment of the following objectives:

1. The concrete, operationalized definition of guidance and counselling within the framework of person-environment interactions, and the concrete attainment of reciprocal determinism with respect to individual and environmental variables in the development of the person.

2. The recognition of the importance of work, and its numerous repercussions on the life of the person as a fundamental person-environment transaction.

3. The social, institutional and community application of the psycho-educational model in terms of prevention and development.

4. The carrying out of research and interventions based on approaches related to ethology and human ecology, and a rediscovery of the importance of systematic observation and rigorous description.

5. Integrated counsellor training in creative and critical thinking which enables counsellors to periodically evaluate themselves, in order to ensure the ongoing development of their professional competence.

If such goals are attained, there is every indication that counselling and guidance may have an appreciable influence on the job market, in industry, in education, and in community mental health centres. We anticipate that counsellors will essentially continue to define themselves in relation to three roles: preventive, curative, and educational and developmental. Their perspectives, based on person-environment interactions, will open up enormous possibilities for application to different targets: the couple, the family, development tasks, gerontology, the education of children, and the education of parents.

In light of the serious psychological effects of the current economic crisis in the lives of thousands of people, guidance and counselling may offer hope to a society in search of its future.

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Individual Employment Counselling A Systematic Approach

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Overview

We have chosen what we hope you will find an informative and useful approach to presenting our material on the Individual Counselling Component of the Competency-Based Training curriculum under development. Initially I will provide a perspective on the background thinking behind the content of our module which directed our research and writing and touch on some of the organizational realities which similarly provided direction to our efforts. Following me, Carol DeCoff will present a more in-depth look at the content focus of our text and training course and as our pièce de résistence we have with us two employment counsellors who were part of our experimental pilot in the Ontario Region and are currently practicing what we tried to preach. They have generously agreed to share their experience to date of the material "in vivo".

Our module obviously is a sequel to the Assessment Component of Employment Counselling: Both modules are intended to create a unit from assessment to counselling goal to counselling intervention to evaluation and termination. Counsellors should emerge from both modules with the knowledge and skill to conduct effective assessments of employability ending with a counselling goal, have a firm grasp on whether that goal is within their expertise and repertoire of strategy interventions, if yes, to feel confident and directed in their counselling interventions and if not, to refer the client to a more appropriate agency for assistance. The concepts of employability and non-job-readiness on which employment counsellors are expected to impact with their clients are so broad that it is difficult to define an employment counselling mandate that is precise in terms of issues interfering with employment which our counsellors can realistically be expected to assist to resolve. In contrast with many agencies which can define a relatively precise clientèle

which they are designed to serve, employment counsellors serve the general working population consisting of most ages, special needs groups, professional and blue-collar workers with a multiplicity of employment needs, some highly specific to employment and some indirectly but crucially linked to an individual's capacity to find and keep a job. In addition, in most offices, counsellors carry extremely high case loads (1000 and more clients), provide services to employers and administer a large number of Commission employment programs. The major challenge to us as co-developers of the individual counselling component was therefore to identify, develop and perhaps most importantly *restrict* ourselves to those interventions most often needed by our clients and counsellors and those which, given our setting, would have the highest chance for positive employment outcomes in the least amount of time. To some extent, in terms of the Commission's mandate and the training program, we are proceeding somewhat in reverse. While one might expect that a mandate defines clearly the parameters of service, in our case the mandate is so huge that the training course is defining, by the limits of the knowledge and skill provided, those issues which counsellors can work effectively with. Our challenge was to make those issues as representative, concrete and global as possible and to design intervention strategies based on a reality of two to five (30 to 40 minute) interviews per client as being the maximum we could hope for in terms of individual service.

Given these realities, our training program became focused on five different areas:

1) Systematic —
   It was clear that if we were to succeed in training counsellors to impact successfully in a short time frame, they would need a systematic counselling model. This model would need to be a structured approach which, taking off from the ten steps of assessment, would guide them, step by step through counselling interventions. The model of course could not be rigid or mechanical. It would have to allow them to follow the client but at the same time be highly directed and goal, action and change focused.
2) Core Dimensional Issues —
   In looking at core dimensional issues, we attempted again to restrict ourselves to those emotional and psychological realities which were felt to be most prevalent among the unemployed and to equip counsellors with the needed sensitivity and coping skills to assist clients to work these through. These issues revolved around two major areas:

Job Loss Cycle and Job Search Burnout which in our present economic and employment climate are epidemic. In dealing with these cycles our attempt has been to assist counsellors to impact on loss of motivation, apathy, mild depression and the building or re-building of client self-esteem. The second core area was reluctant clients and reluctant behaviours which appeared to us to be a logical and frequent outcome of job loss. That is, the longer clients are unemployed and/or unsuccessful in their attempts to become employed, the more suspicious, hesitant and defensive they may become concerning a counsellor's efforts to assist and the less able they may become to continue to believe that a positive result is possible. In the coping skills for working through reluctance, we focused on assisting counsellors to work with fear of failure, self-esteem and risk-taking behaviour. These core-dimensional issues we attempted to build in to all stages of the systematic counselling model.

3) Decision-Making/Problem-Solving Intervention —
It appeared to us that many employment difficulties, particularly in present times, revolve around and require some degree of client decision. These decisions may be as simple and relatively painless as choosing between two training programs or as complex and painful as choosing to move to acquire a job beneath one's training and experience in order to financially survive. The decisions to be taken would be at many varying levels of conflict but a structure to assist clients to examine those issues involved in their own decisions and to adjust to the level of conflict seemed a broadly useful intervention. A major part of our module focuses on decision-making and problem-solving with clients.

4) Critical Employment Behaviours —
The employment behaviours which can be expected to interfere with an individual's capacity to find and keep a job are endless. Our efforts in examining this strategy were to focus on actions of clients which were directly employment related, could be expected to make a critical difference to employment and to provide counsellors with a set of skills to promote behavioural change. Areas selected obviously included appropriate job interview preparation and presentation but also included procrastination; acceptance of authority and supervision; appropriate assertive behaviour, habits of punctuality and acceptable work habits.

5) Self-Management —
The final area of focus was in the area of assisting counsellors to place as much responsibility and independence on a client as he/she is able to assume. While not a separate strategy, or a separate area of knowledge and skill, self-management is a counsellor method of handling other strategies to give the client as much power and self-direction as possible. The theme of self-management is one which runs throughout our text and workshop. We have attempted to train counsellors in terms of counselling intervention to start small, with a plan of action which is most likely to lead to a small success quickly, to build from that client success experience placing progressively more responsibility on the client and to let the client go as soon as it appears that he/she can be in charge.

In looking at the rationale behind the content, it is important to appreciate, to some degree, the organizational setting for which the content was designed. The systematic model and the self-management theme represent efforts to design a time efficient and placement directed method of counselling which respects the realities of large case loads and within those limitations attempts to render clients independent in their job efforts as quickly as possible.

The decision-making/problem-solving and behavioural or learning strategies represent efforts to design flexible employment strategies which are widely applicable and responsive to the needs of a large number of CEC clients.

Core dimensional issues represent our efforts to select, from a broad range of potential emotional and psychological barriers interfering with employment, those areas most frequently present and most amenable to sufficient client change to place a client in employment or on an independent action plan towards employment.

In developing these five major areas, we like to think that there was some originality and innovation, something that someone had not thought of before. Perhaps to a minimal degree that is true, but we have been helped enormously through the ideas of other people whose contributions many of you will be aware of.

Our model came to a large extent from the work done at Michigan State University by Dr. Norman Stewart who collaborated with us on all phases of the course development. Job Loss came to us via some exciting work being done by Drs. Bill Borgen and Norm Amundson at the University of British Columbia; Dr. Vance Peavy and his excellent work

on decision making can be seen adapted or stolen throughout our material and Beck's work on depression as well as Vriend and Dyer on reluctance have helped enormously in the core dimensional areas.

At the same time we did try to pull it all together into one comprehensive unit and Carol will give you a more detailed look at that unit now.

Module Content

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The course in employment counselling has as its main objectives:

a) to teach our counsellors a systematic goal-directed approach for helping clients to deal with employment concerns;

b) to teach clients specific counselling strategies and accompanying skills which attempt to respond to their employment needs.

The Systematic Counselling model is not original to us or to the CEIC. The model has been used extensively and effectively in the training of educational counsellors.

In simple terms, a systematic approach to counselling provides a mental map or a blueprint for counsellors to follow as they work through the counselling process. Each step in counselling is broken down into orderly reasoned units. While each step cannot be completed without the relationship dimensions of counselling, the focus of each step is on working *concretely* on the clients presenting behaviours and problems.

The advantages of such an approach within our setting are several:

1) The approach is strongly problem-solving oriented as opposed to therapeutically oriented.
   The approach emphasizes the role of the counsellor as being primarily a facilitator-educator as opposed to a therapist. Within the employment counselling setting, this orientation is extemely important.

2) The approach is directed at achieving concrete results within a limited time frame of 2 - 5 interviews which is realistic within our setting.

3) The approach is based strongly on the formulation of very specific goals to be achieved through counselling. This permits counsellors to define, with clients, the extent of the interventions they can work within. Counsellors can relate to an approach which enables them to see where they are heading and why.

4) Extensive background in psychology, counselling theory and counselling practice is *not* necessary to work effectively with clients. The theoretical background required stems primarily from basic learning theory, decision-making theory, behavioural change theory and motivational theory. This is particularly important within the CEIC setting where training will eventually reach approximately 2000 counsellors who by and large come from highly diverse backgrounds.

5) The approach avoids the tendency of counsellors to have adopted, often without realizing it, a particular counselling orientation. Some common orientations which are often adopted include:

   a) The Common-sense approach to counselling which Carkhoff has described as listening for a limited time and then laying on the advice.

   b) The Relationship approach which focuses primarily on rapport and relationship building but neglects achievement of results.

   c) Conversely the Results orientation which neglects the client's concerns, abilities, and self-confidence and focuses prematurely on action steps.

   While systematic counselling cannot avoid these orientations all of the time, the precise and detailed steps which counsellors follow in working with clients makes it increasingly difficult to become "stuck" at a particular spot, often without knowing why and without a suitable exit.

6) Finally, the approach emphasizes both the responsibility of the client in his/her own problem resolution and the necessity of his/her active involvement in the counselling process. The approach in this way can be considered preventive as clients are encouraged to consider how they can transfer and apply what has been learned through counselling to other situations, both employment and other related.

A highly simplified version of systematic counselling in its adapted form for use within our setting is shown on the first page of your handout.

The little character in the top left hand corner of the diagram is our mascot - Ozzie. Ozzie marks the entry point into the systematic employment counselling model. The Assessment Component of Employment Counselling (Module I) developed by Phil Patsula offers training from the loop indicating Counsellor through to the loop indicating Determine Employment Target.

Module II offers training to counsellors beginning within the Determine Employment Target loop through to Counsellor Self-Evaluation.

Goals

The establishment of goals and specific employment targets is a vital stage within the systematic counselling process. Without this key step, no further progress is possible. Motivational research indicates that establishing specific goals/targets is of benefit to clients regardless of the counselling setting. For example, goals serve to direct a client's thoughts and work towards a given end; they motivate (particularly when explicitly stated and realistically attainable) and they serve as rewards (as a goal is approached, effort is increased).

Implement Strategy

Having established an employment target counsellors then move on to developing a comprehensive strategy or plan of action that will help move clients from their present circumstances to where they wish to be at the end of employment counselling. IMPLEMENT STRATEGY addresses action plans and as such it represents the core of the Systematic Employment Counselling process. Any change that is to take place, any decision that is to be made, any knowledge that is to be gained will most likely occur as a result of the clients and counsellors efforts in this phase of the counselling process. For this reason it is likely that this stage will take more time than all of the other stages combined. Another point should be stressed. Unlike the other stages within the model which are designed to be performed with comparative uniformity from client to client IMPLEMENT STRATEGY will differ greatly in both time (number and length of interviews) and tasks (clients assignments during and between interviews).

At the IMPLEMENT STRATEGY stage, three major strategies are taught. The strategies were selected with attention to those client employment difficulties which are most frequently presented to counsellors as well as those difficulties counsellors can be expected to work with most effectively.

The first major strategy is *Decision-making*. Counselling in some ways can be viewed as an "invitation to decide". Particularly in employment counselling many issues clients face involve, to some degree, decision:

- to move for new employment
- to risk training/re-training
- to take a lesser job than hoped for
- to shift career mid-life
- to compromise in a variety of areas related to employment
- to decide to change

Such issues require discovering alternatives, weighing advantages and disadvantages, determining costs and benefits and choosing an alternative which provides the most benefit at the least cost.

For many clients requiring employment counselling difficulties stem from not being able to choose among the options available or perceiving themselves as having limited if any options. They fail to realize even when alternatives appear very limited there are usually 3 alternative responses:

- to accept and adapt
- to ignore and run
- to attempt to change

} These 3 alternatives involve decision.

The decision strategy we are teaching emphasizes the concept of decision as a complex process involving:

- subjectivety
- risk
- uncertainty
- conflict

The second major strategy is a *Learning Strategy* focused on acquiring minimum competencies for employment. This strategy presumes that many clients face employment difficulties because of learning deficits within their own backgrounds in one or a combination of the following areas: skills, habits and motivation. Within the Systematic Employment Counselling model all learning deficits are treated globally with emphasis being placed upon teaching counsellors 4 major techniques that can be used to help clients resolve learning concerns. These include the techniques of observation, prompt-fade, rehearsal, and feedback which are described in figure 2.

The third major strategy is a "*Self-Management Strategy*". It is simply a special application of the strategies already discussed to prepare clients to become more self-directed, to do those things which are goal directed and to eliminate or reduce habitual behaviours which may be immediately rewarding but are in the long run self-defeating in terms of employment.

Working with a goal-directed counsellor who focuses on clarifying realistic goals to be attained, assists in discovering and evaluating alternatives and breaking down action steps to be taken into achievable units, is a dynamic and encouraging process for many of our clients. Generally speaking, clients respond positively to being assisted to take power and responsibility for their own problem resolution.

There is however another substantial group of clients for whom the process is not so straight-forward and who for a variety of reasons are reluctant to seek the assistance of a counsellor and, if sought, are reluctant to trust and become involved in the counselling process, to commit themselves to goal attainment and to risk change. All experienced counsellors know the sinking feeling of sitting across from a client and sensing that his/her involvement is forced and uncomfortable. Experienced counsellors further know the feeling of not being certain what to do about his reluctance, whether to ignore, compensate or confront.

To help counsellors deal effectively with such behavior they are introduced to a set of coping skills for handling reluctant clients.

- Identify and Acknowledge Reluctance
- Reassess Goal/Target
- Examine risk in changing/not changing
- Confrontation

Unlike the 3 major strategies of decision-making, learning and self-management, the reluctance strategy is considered as a set of coping skills within a strategy - to be used as needed within decision-making, learning/target-setting, etc.

Evaluation is a largely overlooked area in the field of counselling. This is unfortunate, especially for the counsellor. In all endeavours, people need feedback on how they are performing. The setting of targets and actually reaching them through one's own initiative is intrinsically rewarding and motivating. Performance feedback tells us not only how well we are performing but helps to identify where we need to improve. The Systematic Employment Counselling model includes both Client and Counsellor evaluation components. The focus is on short-term evaluation designed to assist counsellors to continue to improve their performance and to assist clients to continue their efforts towards independent problem resolution.

The final stages of the model focus on the amount of movement which has actually been achieved by the client. This is both rewarding and reinforcing to the client to continue efforts independently. At the same time it brings to a

logical conclusion the counselling process in which the client has been actively involved.

From the counsellor's perspective, the final stages of the model provide feedback and structure an opportunity to improve counselling efforts with future clients.

Figure 1 provides you with an *overview* of the systematic employment counselling process.

Each learning unit is broken down into a series of sequenced steps as can be seen in figure 2 depicting the more detailed process of Systematic Employment Counselling. Specific skills are taught as they relate to a counsellor's working through the sequenced steps at any given stage within the system. While the skills involved are not highly sophisticated (listening, paraphrasing, mild confrontation) the systematic counselling steps which a counsellor follows in working through any one stage of the model are highly detailed and directed.

You will notice *CHECKPOINT* appears often in figure 2. This step enables employment counsellors to pause momentarily to review their coverage of the stage they are working through with a client and to *recycle* to any areas that have been covered inadequately.

Pilot Experience

Our course has to date been piloted with two groups of counsellors in Nova Scotia and Ontario. We are in the process now of final revisions based on their comments and criticisms.

The course requires that counsellors pre-study the text for approximately 45 hours before training. They then receive a ten day intensive workshop. The workshop focuses strongly on skill acquisition and consists to a large extent of moduling and practice through role-play with as much feedback from trainers as possible. Our objective, recognizing that no one can become truly proficient with this amount of materiai in two short weeks, is to render counsellors sufficiently comfortable with the system and the strategies that they will practice with their clients and become truly proficient over time. To this end, we provide them with self-evaluation grids on each stage of the system and each strategy. These are used extensively in training and counsellors are encouraged to use them to evaluate their own progress on the job as they practice. Regular use of a global self-evaluation form (p. 340 of the test, is encouraged.)

The courses in our program are demanding. Being competency-based, we also require that they demonstrate

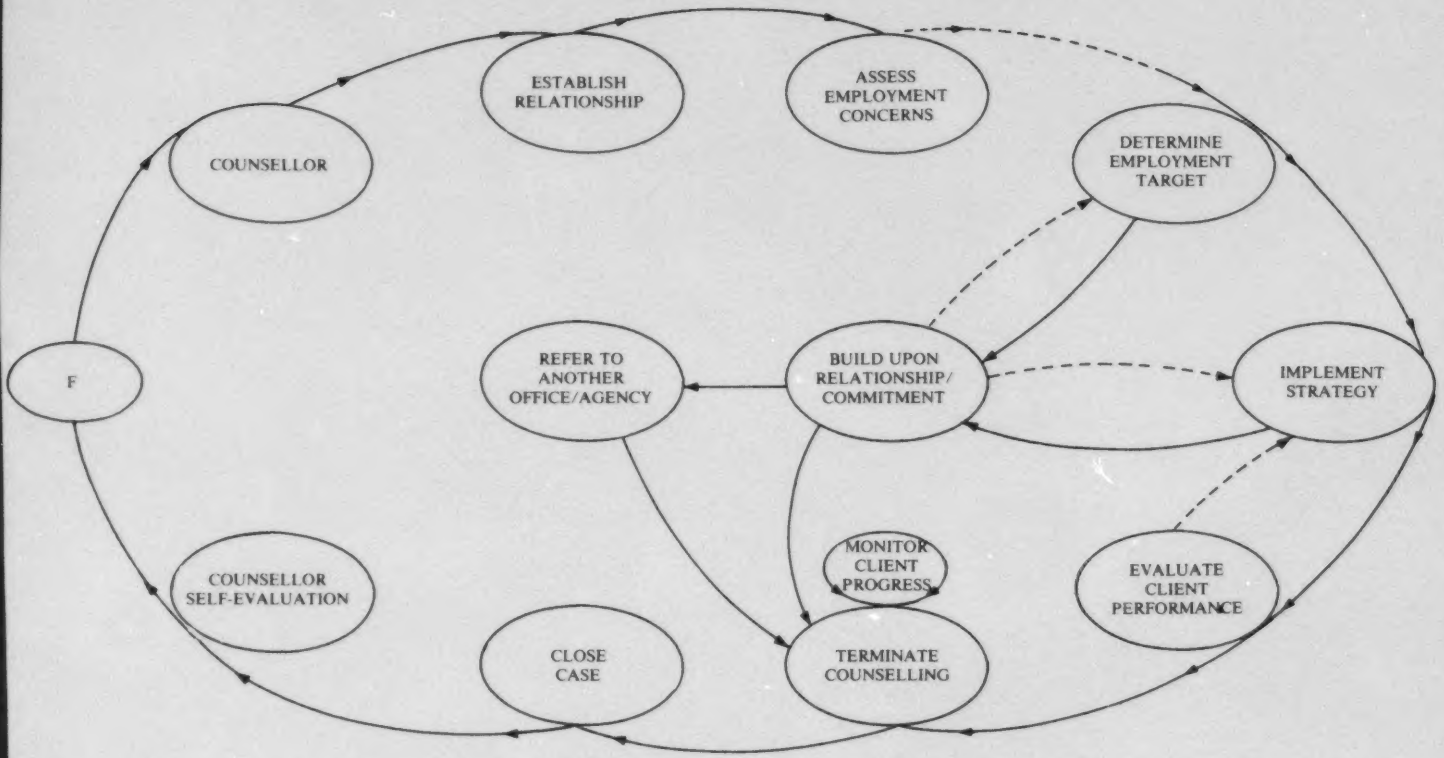

FIGURE 1. Overview of Systematic Employment Counselling

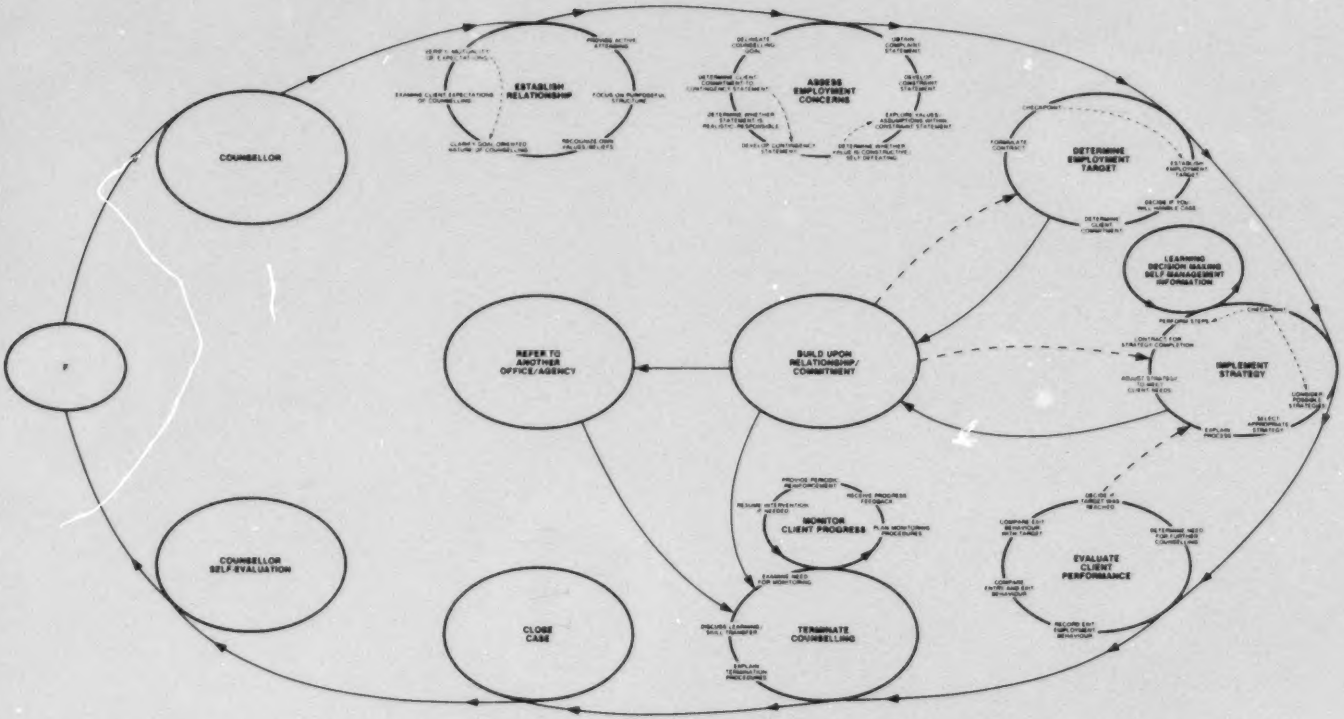

FIGURE 2. Detailed Process of Systematic Employment Counselling

their knowledge and skill. This is done by their taking a knowledge test at the end of training as well as submitting audio-tape interviews with CEC clients within a three month time period. For the Individual Counselling Module, we require two targeting segments, two strategy segments (one on Decision-Making, one on learning) and two evaluation Hamination segments. It constantly surprises and gratifies us to discover the degree to which counsellors study and come prepared to learn. We ask a lot and we get more back.

Positive Applications of SEC from A Trained Counsellor's Perspective

Wendy Hartley
Employment Counsellor
CEC Windsor

In my six years as an employment counsellor, I have attended several training sessions designed to make one more effective in their job. It was not until I became an active participant in the competency-based training program that I noticed any immediate benefits.

Using the systematic approach taught in Individual Counselling, I have noted time is more profitably spent. The system is action-oriented with the onus being on the client to take responsibility for action. The responsibility "to do" has shifted from me to my client and I am no longer doing for my clients what they can do for themselves. This frees me to meet the many other demands of my job such as employer visits, documentation, selection and referral. I find the focus and direction for the counselling interview very helpful. Ambiguity and confusion are greatly reduced by the specificity of the system. This results in very little time spent in subsequent interviews tidying up grey areas. At all times the client knows what to do and how to do it. The collaborative relationship in assessment and built upon throughout the systematic approach is much more conducive to effort, planning and action on the part of the client. The safety of the relationship allows for more honesty, and sensitive employment issues are now addressed whereas before they might have been ignored out of fear of raising anger or anxiety.

At the same time, I find that clients feel comfortable in giving feedback or asking for clarification on what is happening in counselling and what they are expected to do. The

relationship is seen by the client as equal and adult and its purpose of helping client to reach goal attainment is clear. The previous tendency of clients to perceive counsellor as bureaucrat and themselves as having to prove worthy of service seems much reduced. In following the system through from beginning to end there are several segments that seem to work particularly well. Targeting provides the client with very specific steps to follow. These are mutually derived and tailored to meet the individual's needs. They take into account the client's world and the environmental realities within which he/she must operate. In targeting I get away from responding to common problems in a pat manner because each client target has its unique components. Client involvement in targeting starts the momentum for further action and seems to be an encouraging process for the client.

The strategies which we now have to work with provide us with a number of structured ways to impact on client concerns. I no longer avoid certain issues because I simply don't know what to do. Having these strategies gives one a great deal of confidence in knowing how to proceed. This is picked up by the client who perceives the counsellor as competent. The strategies I have used most often are decision-making and a combination of information, self-management and decision-making. These strategies allow clients to approach problems rationally, with common sense, and to feel they are in charge. The balance sheeting technique of generating alternatives and then arriving at factors important to the client seems to both personalize and simplify the decision process. I have noticed in using this with clients that better training decisions are made. This is evident in training seat utilization. There appears to be less absenteeism, fewer dropouts and a longer term commitment to training with clients who have been through the process. The decision-making strategy also works well with clients who are in conflict. I used it with a client who had been laid-off for over a year and whose Unemployment Insurance Benefits were about to exhaust. He was in considerable panic and struggling with whether to accept a job and move west for six months and live apart from his wife and school age children. When we worked at it using the balance sheeting techniques, his decision became clear to him.

As far as the learning techniques go, I have not used them to any great extent but will attempt to use them (specifically observation/rehearsal) with a client who needs to learn appropriate responses to interviewer questions about his alcoholic past. Now he becomes defensive, angry and leaves

the interview situation. At this point I cannot comment on whether or not we will be successful. I hope so.

Using the system, when action steps are completed and goal attainment reached, I find it gratifying to see the growth in self-confidence of my clients. They come to the realization that what has happened to them is a result of what *they* did, not luck, chance, fate, more powerful others or me. I now hear more clients saying "I got myself a job" — rather than "You did it for me". When the action steps are completed and they do not result in goal attainment I find that all is not lost. I find we still have a collaborative relationship and we can recycle back in the system, reassess the target or start over. Again, I find that knowing what to do when faced with failure, or at least having some structured options, very helpful. When clients leave with a plan of action and return repeatedly with nothing done, the reluctance coping skill is extremely helpful. If after using all the skills and resources I have, it becomes evident that there is going to be no client movement, I have a clear case for closure that I can support with very specific documentation. I find it easier now to be clear with a client that until he/she is willing to complete some of the agreed upon action steps, I can no longer be of assistance. This assists in more productive use of my counselling time.

The system also provides me with the opportunity to evaluate my own progress. I have designed a system of file cards on which I enter my client's name, goal, target, action plan and results obtained. Periodically I review them and see how successful I've been, what targets I seem to be working well with and where I need to improve.

In closing, I would like to say that systematic counselling has given me the confidence to deliver the quality service the Commission expects. It works.

Limitations of Applying SEC from A Trained Counsellor's Perspective

Irene Kent
Employment Counsellor
CEC Windsor

The first limitation in applying the competencies gained in both Assessment and the Systematic Counselling Approach is organizational.

Our counselling time is limited, our case loads currently average 900 clients and are steadily increasing in a limited labour market.

Our jobs include the responsibility of administering and monitoring many diverse programs each with imposed targets and deadlines often outside our control. These are realities which often make it difficult for us to give quality counselling.

Time constraints are further restricted by the traditional perception of the CEC as an imparter of short term, temporary measures. It is important to note that many clients have this perception. They often expect to be given a training seat simply by asking, with no counselling intervention to determine if the program meets their needs and abilities. Changing this perception is often not easy. Often neither the counsellor nor the client enter counselling because of a mutually agreed upon plan, but rather over a difference of opinion as to what the client wants and what the counsellor, in their gate-keeper role, can provide. The counsellor competencies of the Systematic model allow the client and counsellor to establish psychological contact, and work within an atmosphere of hope where there is a clear and mutual definition of counselling expectations. It often takes time however to get to that point of psychological contact.

In looking at specific components of the system, I have found the following limitations:

With my clients to date, I find that formal contracting as taught in the module appears to weaken the collaborative relationship. It takes adulthood and equality away from the client and seems to reinforce the bureaucratic image of one more form to complete. Clients tend to interpret contracting as a sign that I don't take them at their word. As a result, I am tending to use verbal contracts more and to avoid the term 'contract'. It is more a discussion of our shared responsibilities.

The rational decision-making strategy often does not fit my client's economic realities. With many clients it would be nice to have the luxury of time to take a well considered decision but immediate, economic temporary measures are needed. Thus I find that with many clients, the strategy would help but they cannot take the time to receive this assistance.

I am also finding a temptation not to let the client go. Often after targeting, the client, through the sorting process and action step identification, no longer needs additional strategies. He/she is ready to be self-directed.

I find myself tempted to continue because I want to work through the remaining stages and to reach a successful evaluation and termination. In reality, I seldom seem to get there as my successful clients leave. My clients with more complex needs require more than one strategy but again we seem to remain in the action stage until he/she is successful. I'm not sure if this is a limitation per se as the clients who leave are successful. I do however have difficulty getting to the end of the system with any one client.

The learning techniques, so far, seem limited in their application. Clients whom I identify as needing learning techniques seem to require more intense life skills than I can provide with the techniques at my disposal. I tend to refer these clients to alternate more intensive programs than I can realistically provide within counselling.

I would like to close by saying that I am certainly using the competencies acquired in both modules and I share with Wendy her comments on the benefits of both in my work. I am also finding limitations as I apply what I have learned and I hope that sharing these with you has been informative.

A Prototype Measure of Career Adaptability

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Introduction

Most development theories have their origin in the work done on children and adolescents. The models typically adopted have been based upon a biological view of development. Because of this, development has been seen as progressive from birth to maturity - a maturity which occurs at the end of adolescence. Adulthood occurs once adolescence ends and it is depicted as a period of stability or maintenance and subsequent decline. A typical career path is portrayed as a one-time vocational choice made at the end of adolescence. Having entered the labour market, a person then rises in position and responsibility until the level of peak performance is achieved at which time growth levels off until retirement.

As most counsellors know, and as research studies are beginning to show, career paths of individuals who are perfectly normal are, in fact, much more varied than this theoretical model. Rather than being linear and cumulative, they are multidirectional and discontinuous. Moreover, they are characterized by the process of adaptation.

Adaptation

Adaptation is generally described as a process by which an individual changes in order to achieve an improved relationship with his or her environment, which itself might be in continuous change. Career adaptation, then, refers to adaptation within the work environment. It must be viewed from two perspectives: individual and societal.

It has long been recognized that the number of personal factors which are considered as influential to occupational

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choice and career development are considerable (Card, 1978). This multiplication of variables is further complicated by the recent recognition of the period of adulthood as one of continued growth and development. The capacity for change can be seen clearly in three areas of research on cognitive development.

The first is the area of quantitative cognitive development which is the individual's capacity to learn. It is now recognized that certain abilities continue to develop in adulthood. Two contributing factors which must be recognized are wisdom and experience.

Secondly, there is a changing qualitative dimension which reflects the structural changes of the mind in processing information. Piaget (1970) has long been a recognized leader in this area but other researchers such as Perry (1968), Kholberg (1976) and Bégin (1979) are pushing back the frontiers of trying to identify such factors.

It has been suggested that "dialectics" distinguishes the adult period (Riegel, 1973). This involves a series of integrations of logical structures (thesis) with social contexts (antithesis) leading to new synthesis (Labouvie-Vief, 1980). This process is considered simultaneously repetitive and progressive.

Besides the developmental changes in quantitative and qualitative measures of cognition which represent similarities among individuals, there are still consistant and distinctive dissimilarities in the way individuals think and in the manner in which they perform any given task. These differences or dispositions are called cognitive styles and are considered "expressions of broader dimensions of functioning that extend into the personality domain" (Witkin, 1973, p. 25).

Cognitive style refers to the "how" rather than the "what" of intellectual phenomena. In other words, it is the manner by which individuals actualize their abilities.

All three dimensions of quantity, quality and style interact to produce increasing multidimensionality and inter-individual variability across the life span. They also interact with personality.

However, as researchers such as Vaillant (1977), Levinson (1978) and others have shown, adult development is also drastically affected by the society in which an individual lives. Changes in adulthood cannot be studied purely from the individual's standpoint but must be placed in their societal and historical context. The concept which must be understood in tandem with development is that of socialization. Levinson wrote that while development represented an

unfolding from within, socialization reflects a moulding from without (Levinson, 1980, p. 270). In this thought is reflected the importance that society plays in determining the individual's adaptation to the environment. Through socialization, the individual learns to perform the roles and behaviours one expects of oneself and that others expect of that person (Albrecht and Gift, 1975).

After studying the lives of individuals from the time of college graduation until middle age, Vaillant wrote that the more sustained the social and historical events impinging on the life of the individual, the more complex and less predictable that individual's development becomes (Vaillant, 1980, p. 358). These results are a long way from the original model of career maturation and career development.

We have learned from these more recent studies on adult development that we must take into account the roles and career of an individual if we are to understand his or her adaptation. The person's career takes into consideration the capacity of the individual for changes over the lifetime and the unique patterning of choices available within a given environment. A career always unfolds in relation to its environmental agenda but not solely according to its dictates (Smelser, 1980, p. 12).

How people respond to internal and external pressures can be understood through two related but not identical processes - that of adaptation and that of adjustment. Adjustment may be viewed as the way in which someone responds to societal demands: it may be good, bad or indifferent. Adaptation, on the other hand, refers to the precarious balance between the relationship with one's self and the relationship with the world. Adaptation may include adjustment but adjustment does not include adaptation (Vaillant, 1977, p. 211).

Especially in a rapidly changing society, crisis of stress and self-doubt occur with increasing frequency. In this context, the process of change and adaptation can best be understood as a dialectic or dialogue between a person and society which result in changes in both.

Dialectical models of adaptation and development which recognize this include those of Piaget, Erikson and Kholberg. Their theories are helpful in uncovering the adaptive mechanisms and structures of development as well as the basic elements or traits necessary for growth.

In Piaget's theory of cognitive development, the process of adaptation is described as a series of assimilations and accommodations. Assimilation is the process by which the individual interprets the environment based upon his/her

established cognitive structures. Accommodation is the process by which these structures are modified to accommodate inconsistent information coming from the environment resulting in cognitive structural reorganization. Thus, cognitive reorganization is achieved through a dialectical process of thesis (structure formation), antithesis (structure transformation) and synthesis (new structure formation).

Similarly, Erikson views the development of one's ego identity as a continuous process across the lifespan as individuals interact with a changing society. Researchers who have been following adults in longitudinal studies (e.g. Levinson, 1980; Vaillant, 1981) have found evidence to suggest that adults go through a number of identity diffusions with subsequent integrations.

Jordan has described the on-going process of ego development most poetically. He wrote:

> To exist is to change,
> to change is to mature,
> to mature is to create oneself endlessly.
>
> (Jordan, 1976, p. 7)

The self-concept or ego-identity is not a unitary construct but consists of a personal as well as a social identity. It is the integration of these identities into a unitary whole which constitutes adaptation. Thus, the degree of integration can have a subsequent impact on the choices one makes as well as on one's commitments to these choices. As Erikson (1976) has proposed, integration of one's identities ranges from achievement (i.e. total integration) to diffusion (i.e. no integration), suggesting different degrees of integration or adaptive styles. As well, it is believed that adults may go through a number of identity diffusions and subsequent integrations in response to significant events in their lives which alter the direction of their career paths.

The serious implication of accepting this approach is that if career adaptation is perceived as a compromise or interaction between the individual and his or her environment, approaches used to measure or influence career adaptation must be sufficiently flexible to accommodate the constantly changing form and dimensions of both.

The Prototype

With all these concepts in mind, we set out to develop a measure of career adaptation which not only included this kind of thinking but which also met the following objectives:

1. Incorporated the concept of career adaptability rather than that of career maturity.

2. Reflected individual differences, values and orientations.
3. Was easy to administer, score and interpret.
4. Had validity and reliability
5. Provided useful information to be used by the respondents in making career-related decisions.
6. Did not duplicate existing tests.
7. Had the potential to become part of a computerized interactive system.
8. Was useful with a wide range of clients.

As difficult as each of these factors might be, perhaps the most difficult one was the attempt to measure the concept of career adaptability, a measure which is unique to the individual. We felt that measures such as Crites Career Maturity Inventory or Super's Career Development Inventory which are linear in nature, were just not relevant to our goals.

We proceeded with the assumptions that the measurement of the extent to which an individual has adapted or is capable of adapting, at a given point in time, involves the measurement of the degree of self-social integration, and the degree of subsequent impact on vocational decisions. Norris and Makhlouf-Norris (1977) proposed a self-identity system of constructs which is compatible with this view. They view the self-identity system as consisting, at least, of three important components.

1. the actual self- or how we perceive ourselves,
2. the social self- or how we believe others perceive us,
3. the ideal self- or how we would like to be.

This identity of self assists in reducing uncertainty about self by defining relationships between the three elements of actual, social and idea. The relationships which exist among these three evolve as a result of past behaviours and consequences and can be diagrammed as a representation of each person's unique personal-social-environment. As a result, the self-identity system has implications for behaviours in that the choices one makes depend upon these relationships, and the outcomes validate or invalidate this self-conception. This approach is compatible with Erikson's theory. He wrote:

> An optimal sense of identity is experienced as a sense of being at home in one's body, a sense of knowing where one is going, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count.
> (Erikson, 1968, p. 165)

The prototype we have developed attempts to identify the degree of integration of these three "self" factors. We assumed that there would be some kind of pattern which we could identify and further, that this pattern would be unique for each person. We assumed a continuum of integration ranging from none to complete. Most people have some degree of integration at all times even if the proportions are in a state of flux. Figure 1 displays a continuum of integration.

To capture each person's unique configuration means capturing the essence of the constantly changing interactions between the individual and his or her environment. The selected approach had to be sufficiently flexible to accommodate the range of possible situations while at the same time, be sufficiently concise to permit meaningful analysis. The approach we chose was the Repertory Grid Technique.

The repertory grid provides a tool for capturing individual information in a form that is statistically analyzable and, therefore, analytically comparable from one individual to another. It is not a new technique but was devised in 1955 by George Kelly as a means of exploring the individual's personal construction of the world. However, it was abandoned because of the length of time and difficulty required in scoring. Much of the tediousness of the analysis has now been removed by the use of computers.

It makes certain assumptions:

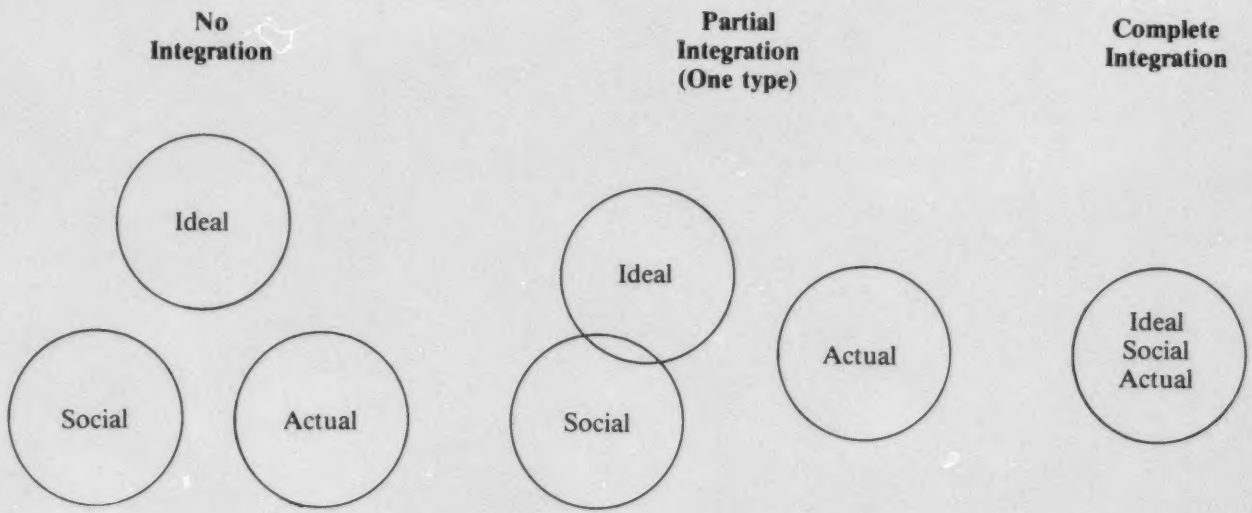
1. All constructs are bi-polar. We never affirm anything without simultaneously denying something else.
2. The cognitive map of the individual can be drawn by looking at the relationships between individual elements and constructs.
3. Constructs always operate within a context.
4. There are a finite number of elements to which the construct can be applied by a given person at a given time (range of convenience).
5. Each grid is completely unique in construction.
6. Wording is not nearly as important as the construction given or developed by the respondent.

Exploratory Research

In the spring of this year, we tried out the technique for the first time on 19 young adults ranging in age from 16 to 18. Each test session took approximately one hour. A subject first gave their age and stated whether or not they had decided upon an occupation. Individuals who were totally undecided were assigned a "0" while individuals who were

FIGURE 1

Continuum of Self-Integration



considering an occupation were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 5, the certainty they assigned to this choice.

They then completed the grid. Subjects were asked to list occupations for which they felt qualified or able to qualify for. They were also prompted with such suggestions as ideal job, a job they would dislike, and jobs of members of their family. When the subject could not think of further occupations, the process was stopped. All occupations were recorded on index cards.

The second stage was the elicitation of constructs or characteristics. The triad method was used. The subject was shown the card "Me as I am now", along with two index cards showing occupations selected at random from those on the elements list. The subject was then asked to think of the three titles as three individuals and to select which two were alike in some way but different from the third. The words or phrase used to describe the similarity was then recorded. The occupations cards were shuffled and another two were selected and presented to the subject along with the "Me as I am now" card. This procedure continued until no new constructs were given. The inclusion of the "Me as I am now" card as part of all the triads is called the self-identification sort (Kelly, 1955, p. 214) and is designed to ensure that all constructs are personally relevant to the individual. The example in Figure 2 is that of a grid completed by an 18 year old girl who was very certain that she wanted to be an archaeologist. The constructs or characteristics are very much in her own words. Characteristics such as "authenticity" and "centre of attention" are the words a counsellor might hear but which are rarely used in any standard test of personal identification.

In the third stage, the grid is completed. The occupations she has given, are listed along the horizontal axis of the grid along with the elements "Me as I am now", "Me as I would like to be", and "Me as others see me". The constructs were recorded along the vertical axis of the grid. The subject is then asked to rate each element in turn on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 meaning most like this individual and 5 meaning least like the individual or occupation.

To score the data, two analyses were done. The first was a principal components analysis. This produced axes much like the axes of a map. The elements are then plotted and located on this cognitive map.

Figure 3 shows a copy of the cognitive map of this subject. The two components which form the axes account for 56% of the total variance. The first area of the cognitive map

FIGURE 2

Grid Completed by 18 Year old Girl

Career Adaptation Measure

Name _____

Characteristics (Constructs)	Myself			Occupations						
	As I am now	As I would like to be	As others see me	Archae-ologist	Sociol-ogist	Psychol-ogist	Lawyer (Mother)	Cabinet Maker (Father)	Trans-lator	Airline Stew-ardess
Contributing to others	2	2	3	2	2	1	4	3	3	2
Selling	4	3	3	5	5	5	3	2	5	1
Direct dealing with people	2	1	2	5	2	1	1	2	1	1
Problem solving	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	4	5	5
Centre of attention	3	4	2	3	3	4	1	3	4	1
Research	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	5	5	5
Creativity	3	1	3	4	4	4	4	1	4	5
Meeting deadlines	5	1	3	5	5	3	1	3	5	3
Authenticity	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	5
Mobility	3	1	2	1	1	4	4	4	1	1
Having a challenge	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	5
Directly influencing others	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	4	4	5

FIGURE 3

Map of Subject certain of occupation (level 4) using components 1 and 2 as axes.

which is examined is that of the relationships between the "self" components. Here, the individual sees herself as she believes others see her but her ideal is somewhat different from both images. Secondly, the relationship between the self components and those of the given occupations are examined. Her chosen occupation, archaeologist, lies close to the actual and social selves. Further, most of her selected occupations cluster together and are very similar in terms of required aptitudes. It is also interesting that her ideal self lies almost mid-way between the occupation of her mother (lawyer) and that of her father (cabinet maker). One would expect that this person would be close to selecting an appropriate occupation.

A second kind of cognitive map is shown in Figure 4. In this case, the subject was an 18 year old first year university student who was very uncertain about his occupational choice. He was in a science program and had made plans to begin a course specializing in photography. In this case the two components used as the axes account for 80% of the total variance. The constructs which seem most closely associated with the dimensions are planning and working with hands. From the positions of the selves and the occupation "mechanic" it would seem that these are important qualities to the individual. The next step in the counselling process would be to identify related occupations and this could be done with a system such as CHOICES or the Index to Canadian Occupations.

These kinds of maps help us to view the world of work from the individual's perspective.

We then conducted a second stage of data analysis to try to identify the overall patterns of the subjects we had tested in order to see how they could be useful for career counseling. In order to define the degree of integration between the self elements, a measure of the distance between each pair of elements was calculated. This measure is referred to as the Index of Similarity and ranges from 0 (meaning the two are coincidental) to 1 (meaning they are totally dissimilar). Indices for each subject were calculated.

Table 1 shows the total index of similarity for all pairs compared to the expressed level of certainty of occupational choice. Four levels of certainty are observed: 0, 3, 4 and 5. Across individuals, the pair of "self" elements with the closest relationship (i.e. the most similar) is that of the actual-social self relationship. When the index of similarity is arbitrarily set at less than .4 on the scale of 0 to 1, it is seen that the overall congruence of selves tends to increase at the

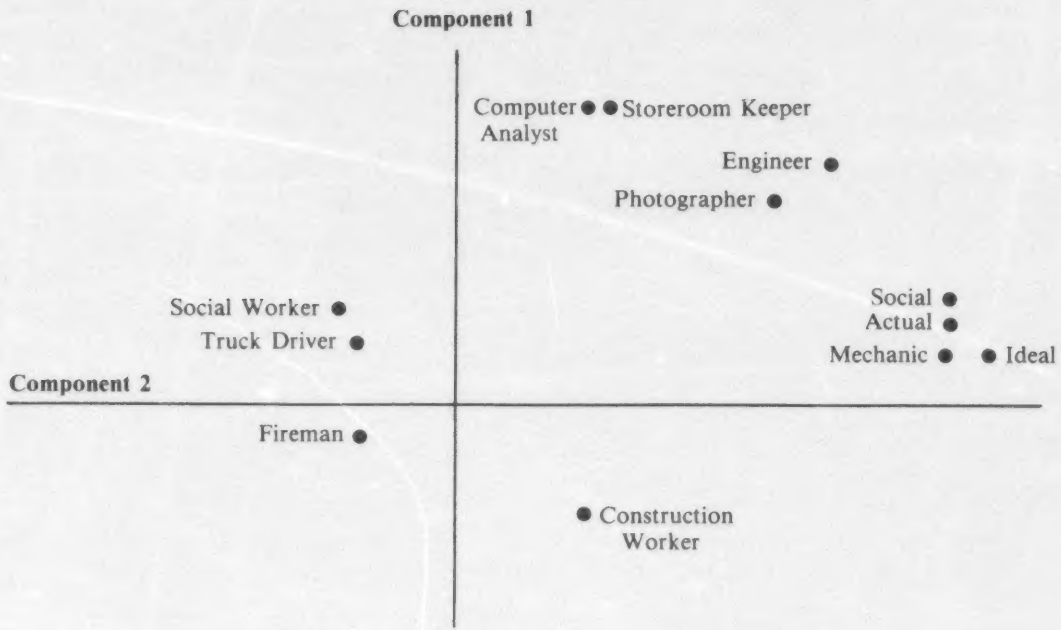


FIGURE 4

Map of Subject uncertain of occupation using components 1 and 2 as axes.

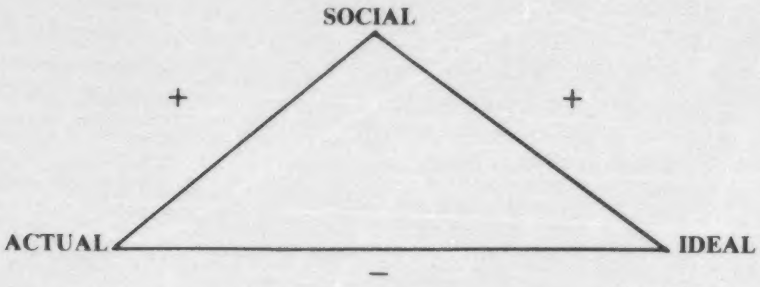
TABLE 1

Total Index of Similarity for all Pairs compared with Level of Certainty of Occupational Choice.

	INDEX OF SIMILARITY				
CERTAINTY	ACTUAL/ IDEAL	ACTUAL/ SOCIAL	SOCIAL/ IDEAL	X	X
5	.28	.19	.37	.28	.35
5	.55	.29	.40	.41	
4	.45	.20	.55	.43	
4	.20	.19	.29	.23	
4	.31	.20	.23	.25	
4	.19	.18	.26	.21	.25
4	.27	. 0	.28	.18	
4	.14	.14	.17	.15	
4	.41	.23	.30	.31	
3	.28	.17	.38	.28	
3	.31	.18	.35	.28	
3	.25	.22	.37	.28	.26
3	.19	.20	.19	.19	
3	.25	.22	.36	.28	
0	.35	.14	.21	.23	
0	.40	.32	.46	.39	
0	.49	.18	.39	.35	.33
0	.42	.27	.35	.35	
0	.40	.28	.25	.31	

higher levels of occupational certainty. Where the criterion for similarity is less than .35, a greater degree of discrimination is observed between the different levels of occupational certainty with overall integration being highest at levels 4 and 5. If data were retained only for those subjects with an index of similarity less than .25, individuals who are uncertain about their occupations.

We originally conceived that individuals would have quite clear cut patterns of self-integration. What seems to emerge, however, are combinations of these patterns which may be related to decidedness. For example, one pattern that emerges is the similarity between the actual-social selves and the social-ideal selves while the relationship between the actual-ideal selves is dissimilar. Diagrammatically, this relationship can be drawn like this:



This finding appears to be related to the concept of imbalanced triads (Fransella and Bannister, 1977, p. 7) which is a method for assessing psycho-social conflict. For this study, a balanced triad is one in which all three concepts are similar (i.e. +, +, +) or where two are similar to each other but both are different from a third (+, –, –). An imbalanced triad is one in which all three concepts are dissimilar (i.e. –, –, –) or one in which one concept falls between the other two.

Applying this concept to the patterns found in this study demonstrates, a relationship between balanced and imbalanced triads (representing conflict or uncertainty) and expressed certainty of occupational choice.

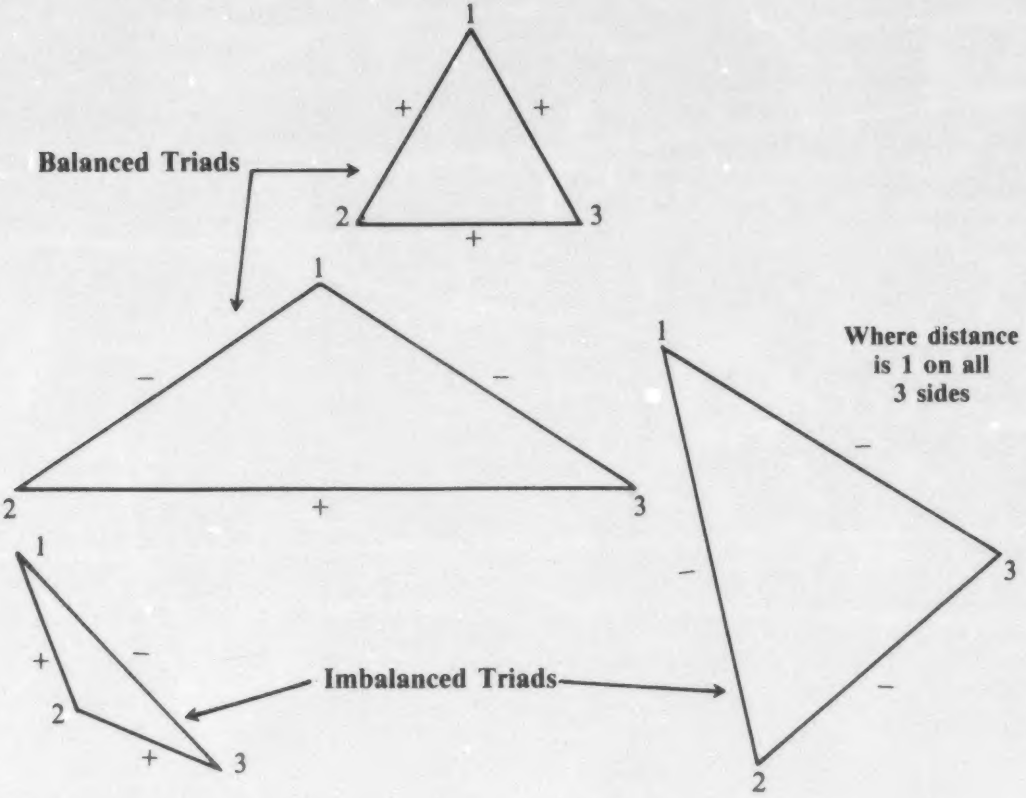
Generally, the data demonstrates that a balance between the three self aspects is related to certainty of occupational choice (i.e. subjects who are uncertain show greater imbalance than subjects who are somewhat certain). The position of subjects who are at a "3" or tentative, however, seems to fluctuate between a balanced triad and an imbalanced triad.

We speculate that individuals who uncertain about their occupations, but show a balanced triad, may be unconcerned about the issue of occupational choice at this time in their lives. Also, it may be speculated that individuals who are uncertain, but show imbalance, may, in fact, be struggling with the decision.

Conclusions

Based on our work to date and on this first use of the instrument, we have come to a number of conclusions:

1. The repertory grid is a useful technique both in the quality of information it can provide about the individual and its ease of application. It was well received by the participants, almost all of whom required requested a copy of their completed grid for future reference. The amount of personally relevant information obtained in a short period of time is a key feature of this technique.


Balanced Triads
1
+
+
2
3
+
1
–
–
2
+
3
1
Where distance
is 1 on all
3 sides
–
–
3
Imbalanced Triads
1
+
–
2
+
3
–
1
3
2

2. The repertory grid requires the counsellor to work with the client in developing a list of elements and constructs. In the present study, there was a tendency for some subjects to get stuck on a particular label and not be able to think beyond it. It required questionning on the part of the administrator for individuals to express their observations more clearly or in other words. This might be a problem if the grid is to be administered to a group, or if it is to be used independently by a client. In these cases, a methodology would need to be developed to allow for extensive listing of constructs and elements by the individual. The requirement would be to avoid structuring the individual's thoughts and to ensure a representative sample of the individual's perceptions. A dyad approach, designed for a computer interactive model, has been suggested by Keen and Bell (1980) based upon the natural flow of conversation. Their method shows potential in resolving this dilemma. Also, for a computer-based system, the client could be prompted by randomly selected occupations or attributes.
3. The repertory grid technique provides a very personalized or "tailor-made" beginning for the occupation search process. The downstream potential for integration with systems such as CHOICES is great. For instance, once clients had developed their own repertory grid, CHOICES data files could be accessed through linkage programs to find other occupations consistent with the individual's unique desires. Further extension could involve the display of appropriate occupations for which the individuals would have to take training or apprenticeship.
4. The measurement of career adaptation using an "index of similarity" between actual, social and ideal selves as perceived by the individual appears to be correlated to occupational certainty.
5. Improvements to the method of analysis are possible. For example, ranges of the indices of similarity could be chosen on the bases standard deviations about the population.
6. The concept of balanced and imbalanced triads using combinations of selected elements (e.g. ideal, actual, and social selves) proved very useful in understanding conflict or ambivalence within the individual regarding occupational choice.
7. The statistical analysis allows the counsellor and client to go beyond the labels to observe the relationships or pat-

terns in the data. These patterns can be very informative about the individual's decision-making and requirements, and can serve as a basis for further discussion between the counsellor and client. We will be working on finding suitable computer programs.

What we have presented today is the updating of an old technique which is in tune with the latest research being done on adult development. Obviously, it is very much in the prototype stage but it has great potential for use in the following applications:

(a) as an instrument for the development and refinement of career adaptation theories where such theories can be used as fore-runners for the development of successful counselling instruments;

(b) as a one-to-one method for counsellors to elicit meaningful information from clients about themselves, their goals, their views of others, and their perceptions of the work place; and

(c) over the medium-term, as a possible computer-based tool, used alone or as part of other computerized employment counselling systems currently under production. This would allow clients to enter the occupational exploration process from the starting point of their own unique perceptions and desires.

It is our intention to continue development of this instrument during the next few years and we would be happy to cooperate with others who may be interested in experimenting with this tool.

NOTE TO READERS:

This paper is based on a series of reports entitled:

"Towards a Model of Career Adaptation: A Review of the Literature on Adult Development and Its Implications for Career Adaptation"

"The Measurement of Career Adaptation: An Application of the Repertory Grid Technique"

"The Measurement of Career Adaption"

These papers were written by Heather Hopwood of Operescon Inc. as part of a series of studies on career adaptation headed by Catherine Casserly of Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. Copies of these papers may be obtained by contacting:

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Vocational Counselling in Secondary Schools

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Introduction

Counselling or guidance in secondary schools is not a strikingly original or exciting subject. Much has been said about it. Vocational counselling, however, is a subject which deserves attention, a topic rich in fresh possibilities for both counsellors and students.

In the past decade, counselling has lost its real meaning because of various fashionable trends in psychology, and has gradually become what may be called humanistic guidance. This development has not been confined to guidance but is widespread throughout the field of education. There is an attempt to make school an end in itself, a self-contained environment. Young people are supposed to love going to school for the pure pleasure of sitting in the classroom, to learn science and math for the pure pleasure of learning and so forth. This view seems quite unrealistic to me. If we ask students why they go to school or parents what they expect from school, I am sure they will say that school should function in terms of the future and remain a way to prepare for working in society. School must thus be an important phase in vocational guidance. It is important to offer the clientele appropriate aid in light of this objective, which should be reestablished: to prepare young people to fill their roles as workers. This implies, among other things, offering vocational counselling.

From our standpoint, vocational counselling means helping someone develop in such as way as to create and maintain harmonious relations with the world of work. This service should be provided to everyone, not just those in a particular category, as we are often led to believe. Vocational counselling is not a problem but a process experienced by each and every one of us.

In many schools, the counsellor has gradually become the principal's right-hand man: problems of discipline, drugs, alcohol, absenteeism, maladjustment, poor grades and who knows what else are all referred to him. I know he has the

skill to deal with this, he does it well and serves the students, parents and school extremely well. But we must realize that he does this at the expense of his primary calling, which is to prepare young people for a place on the job market. At school, plans are made from day to day, and the main concern is to see that every student who enters secondary school goes through with as little incident as possible and comes out with his secondary school graduation diploma. That is the priority; what he does next hardly matters. When a student has gone through its program, the school considers it has fulfilled its responsibility. And the entire staff, including the guidance counsellor, has to work toward attaining the school's objective. Counsellors have become more obviously taken up with day-to-day matters, at least in Quebec, since the process, now nearly completed, of phasing out regional counselling teams began. In many places, the counsellor reports directly to the school principal; he is isolated from his peers and has to meet the school's short-term objectives. Hence he tends to become an academic counsellor.

We are thus far from vocational counselling in secondary schools. We can discuss it and put a program forward, but first the school must change its objectives and offer real guidance to students.

I have been asked to present a vocational counselling program for secondary schools. This is simple and straightforward. We have two things to consider: the individual and his work. The individual wants to get as much as possible from his work for the greatest possible satisfaction, and his employer wants to get as much as possible from him for greater productivity. These two forces must be brought into line and a satisfactory compromise for both parties must be sought continually.

The secondary school years are a turning point in a person's vocational guidance. This is when the student is first placed in a real guidance situation. Whether we like it or not, this period will have a decisive effect on his future directions. If he is to make the most of it, he should, in fact must, have acquired certain concepts in primary school, as pointed out in Quebec's white paper on vocational training for young people and also the statement on guidance and counselling services in Canada prepared by the Canadian Guidance and Counselling Association, to name only two sources.

The first condition for a complete "vocational" guidance program, as all would agree, is to have adequate information. A person in the guidance process must be able to explore. He cannot have freedom of choice without full, objective information. Information and exploration do not repre-

sent a stage in a cycle but rather an integral part of the whole lifelong process.

The next essential is to integrate all this information into the individual's consciousness. This presupposes self-knowledge, knowledge of one's values, aspirations and capabilities, and also of one's personal characteristics. This phase is essential because it enables a person to select the relevant information, draw a connection between what he is and what the job market is, and reach a satisfactory compromise.

None of this is new, you will rightly remark. What might be new is the means and approaches adopted in order to make the complete guidance process a success.

The first item is a good, up-to-date information bank for short- and long-term career and job prospects. Let me say in passing how welcome Employment and Immigration Canada's new initiative, the recently developed YPOS program, is to all of us. Counsellors have been calling for such an essential tool for several years. It is sure to facilitate guidance across the country. Many said such a program could never see the light of day, but now we have it. The next thing is to put it within reach of all those who need it. Terminals must be installed at all guidance locations as soon as possible.

The same applies to the CHOICES program, another tool for young people seeking guidance. It does not solve every problem, but it is a modern way of helping people find their direction. Counsellors should be familiar with it and learn to use it on a larger scale.

A guidance counsellor should provide personal assistance primarily in connection with work. Why is work so important? Simply because in a society such as ours, work is considered a necessary condition for the psychological balance and economic development of the individual and society. For the individual, work provides an opportunity to show interests and use abilities. It gives a feeling of usefulness and accomplishment. It confers an identity, gives social satisfactions and regulates general activities as well, of course, as offering financial rewards.[1] In other words, work conditions an individual's lifestyle, income, environment and opinion of himself. Turning to the group, if we multiply what we have found for the individual by the number of people in a society, we soon see the impact of the psychological and

1. DAVISON, Catherine V. and TIPPETT, I. Glen, "Comment tracer le plan de votre carrière", Training Research and Development Centre, Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1976, p 24.

economic implications of individual careers and therefore guidance on society as a whole. Surely all these implications of vocational counselling deserve due consideration by experts so that nothing is left to chance. Vocational counselling has a decisive influence on the life of every worker and hence on the development of a society.

Work is the central element of our present social and economic organization; it must be understood both from the essential aspect of contribution to society and also from the aspect of individual investment of a set of values in a given occupation.

Access to paid work is considered a basic right in the type of society in which we live. The extent of participation in organized work can be chosen by the individual in light of his personal scale of values. However, choosing an occupation, mastering the main skills it requires and engaging in this occupation are steps which most individuals agree to take, so that they come to spend a large part of their lives in the role of worker. We feel involved in every dimension of this role and in all the stages through which it takes us. The meeting of the individual with the "reality of work" is the main field in which the guidance counsellor provides vocational counselling.

Self-knowledge and knowledge of occupations have always been the two focal points in the various approaches to guidance. Self-knowledge means understanding of work-related scales of values. Knowledge of occupations, on the other hand, means familiarity with all the possible objects of value in the environment in terms of choosing and engaging in an occupation, or in other words, the set of all constant and current data on all possible occupations in the working world at a given moment.

On the one hand, the individual's scale of values and on the other, the possible objects of value existing in his environment: at first sight the two seem easy to connect. The large number of constant or current data for one occupation, the large number of occupations available, the extent of knowledge of the values pursued by an individual in an occupation and the importance of the values he seeks to follow in his role as a worker are all factors which combine to militate against perfect interface between the individual's values and what is available in his environment.

Compromises must thus be sought. An individual may, for example, consent to put aside certain values in choosing an occupation if it satisfies a need he deems more important; the values he sets aside for the time will probably be taken up

in another role of his life if they are truly important; if they are not very significant, they may simply be abandoned.

Here I would like to quote a statement by Donald Super which I think is relevant. He suggests that different people attach different importance to work on the emotional, behavioural and cognitive levels, and the importance varies with the importance assigned to other roles; moreover, it depends on individual values and the possibilities offered by the job market and society in general for achieving these values.[2] This observation brings out the individual aspects of work and at the same time sets forth the conditions which make a compromise between the individual and the world of work indispensable. Thus the individual adjusts to the work dimension, or in a wider perspective, he adapts to the particular dimension of his social environment represented by work.

Before a real vocational counselling program can be implemented in schools, we must see several changes in governments, counsellors, schools and universities.

Government

First, we think it is necessary for government action in the area of vocational counselling to be standardized and coordinated. Our society urgently needs a guidance policy that recognizes every citizen's right to appropriate guidance services. Such a policy could be developed and implemented by an interdepartmental body which would act as a form of central guidance office. The office would also be responsible for advising the various departments and agencies about policies affecting vocational counselling; in addition, it would coordinate government action in this field so that all clienteles received appropriate services. Second, we also think it is urgent to make guidance services readily accessible to all individuals and organizations, without any discrimination. Prospective students, students and ex-students, prospective workers, workers and ex-workers, all citizens should be able to consult a guidance counsellor when they feel the need. We see a guidance policy, a guidance office and universal accessibility as essential conditions if guidance is to contribute effectively to social development.

Change must not, however, be confined to the structural level. Changes are also needed in the mentalities of the men and women who devise education programs and policies and those responsible for applying them in school. Those who

2. SUPER, Donald, "The relative importance of work", Bulletin de l'Association Internationale d'Orientation Scolaire et Professionnelle, 37-1981, January 1981.

train future guidance counsellors must also revise their teaching so that work takes its proper place in the program of studies.

Another essential part of the guidance process, the one which ensures that the whole procedure is successful by bringing it to fulfilment, is placement. We cannot speak of a complete vocational counselling program and ignore this item, which I prefer to call occupational integration.

The secondary schools which, for good or ill, send thousands of young graduates from the vocational sector and a substantial number of dropouts into the job market have practically no manpower services, despite interdepartmental agreements on this subject. They should have not only information on placement rates, special programs, local, regional and national employment forecasts and established programs such as the dynamic job search method and information on the services offered by job centres but also resources in the school to ensure that students have the assistance and support they need to cope with this crucial stage of self-actualization.

It is strange, to say the least, that this question is hardly mentioned in the new federal-provincial agreements on vocational training that have just been signed.

Conclusion

Toward successful occupational integration

Counselling made its appearance in society when occupations became diversified so that vocational choices became more complex. The situation has not altered since then. At a time when equal opportunities for everyone constitute a major concern, guidance services must be equal to making this equality real in workers' careers and thereby contributing to their and society's psychological and economic well-being. At a time when technological change is a major concern, guidance services must be capable of helping to train and prepare the labour force needed to give new impetus to our economy. At a time when economic crisis and unemployment are matters of concern, guidance services must be capable of providing workers with more judicious choices in line with the current state of affairs. Since a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, government efforts in the area of vocational training and placement should be supported by parallel efforts in vocational counselling. Occupational integration of workers can only be fully successful if due attention is given to each of its main components.

Making Decisions — A Developmental Model of Career Education

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Introduction

The career development program at Macdonald Collegiate in Scarborough grew out of the need to put guidance and counselling into an educational role. In recent years, guidance services have been challenged to become accountable in the sense of being held responsible for educational outcomes. In the 60's and early 70's, counsellors separated counselling from teaching and attempted to become experts in human relationships. The problem was that we had no reliable data on our effectiveness nor could we adequately define our role to anyone outside the profession. And since we could not provide a clear concept of our role, we began to take on more and more clerical and administrative jobs, the results of which were readily observable and, to some degree, measureable. Now guidance must respond to two conflicting pressures. On the one hand, schools administration, saddled with declining enrolments and tight educational budgets, are looking for areas to make cuts. On the other hand, the present economic situation, increased competition for available positions, and high unemployment, particularily in the 15-24 age group, have created a high need for effective vocational counselling. And in order to reach all students with a program that is both preventative and developmental, the old model of one-to-one counselling in response to various crisis had to be changed. It is important to understand that guidance is not an ancillary service but a necessary and equal part of the educational process in any school. Guidance and counselling must be cast in an educational role, not a psychotherapeutic one.

Four recent publications make reference to this issue. The first is a book by Ed Herr and N. Pinson, *Foundations for Policy in Guidance and Counselling*, (APGA, 1982) which explains the social, political, and professional challenges to our profession and makes three major recommendations for

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action. First, the authors point out that because the intersection of social trends with policy is not accidental, counsellors must outline the part they can play in shaping policies responsible for social trends. That implies that counsellors must demonstrate that they do make a difference. Credentialism means nothing unless it is backed up by effective service. And therefore counsellors must outline the purpose, objectives, and expected outcomes of programs and services.

A second publication is APGA's *Standards for guidance and Counselling Programs*, a position paper outlining nine standards for exemplary programs as follows:

1. Counsellors must have a philosophical base.
2. Counsellors assume a preventive role.
3. The goal of guidance programs is to maximize student growth.
4. Counsellors are in the classroom as psychological educators.
5. Counsellors participate in curriculum development.
6. Guidance programs undergo ongoing evaluation.
7. The community is involved in the program.
8. Counsellors are professionally assertive.
9. One-to-one counselling is kept to a minimum.

The third publication is the *CGCA Position Paper*. In the paper, the authors take the position that every Canadian has the right to whatever professional assistance is needed to make effective educational and career plans, and to develop the skills and competencies necessary to lead productive and satisfying lives. The paper outlines the needs of each major group of Canadian citizens in terms of knowledge, skills and decisions and briefly describes the services needed to meet those needs. The chart in Figure 1 is a visual of the model used in the paper.

In 1981, the Ontario School Counsellors Association issued in draft form their Developmental Model. The model outlines seven major implications for change in the practice of guidance and counselling:

1. Greater involvement on the part of counsellors in the community.
2. Counsellors as members of a career education team.
3. Emphasizing guidance in life-style terms.
4. Counsellors having a major influence on curriculum change.
5. Counsellors in the classroom.
6. Use of career education as a means of helping students acquire self-awareness.
7. Use of computer technology.

OSCA's position is that counsellors must take a leadership role in career education. The paper describes the model (outlined in this presentation), outlines guidelines for program development, suggests expected counsellor competencies and student outcomes, provides job descriptions for counsellors, and suggests evaluation procedures.

Definitions

At this point, some of the terminology should be clarified. Perhaps the best definition of guidance is Norm Gysbers':

> Guidance is an integral and central, but specifically identifiable and accountable, part of the total continuing education process. It is a comprehensive and developmental educational program responsible for assisting all individuals in developing positive self-concepts, effective human relationships, decision-making competencies, and understanding of current and potential life roles, settings, and events; it is also responsible for placement competencies to aid them in the transition from one setting to another. It is also responsible for assisting all individuals to understand the meaning of basic studies and occupational preparation and relate them to their present and future lives.[1]

The definition emphasizes the centrality of guidance in education, notes that guidance is accountable, and asserts that a guidance program must be educational, comprehensive, and developmental. It identifies five specific areas of human growth and development. Counsellors, in this definition, help students not just with narrow occupational concerns but with dilemmas that can occur at any stage of life. They deal with the human career, with career development.

The word career does cause some difficulty. The Canadian School Trustees Association defines career as the total series of roles and work experiences a person occupies throughout life - school, employment, volunteer, work, retirement.[2] Since the sum of all roles adds up to one's lifestyle, the term career is closely related to the term lifestyle. Lifestyle has been defined as the unique combination of values, choices, and strategies, and behavior patterns through which a person established personal goals and learns to cope with the stress

1. Norman C. Gysbers/Earl J. Moore, *Improving Guidance Programs*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981, p. 63.
2. Canadian School Trustees Association, *Position Paper on School Guidance Services*, 1980, p. 1.

TABLE 1
Developmental Tasks

— Establishing one's self as an independent individual in a mature way

— Learning to relate to others

— Adopting an adult-patterned set of social values

— Learning to deal with moral dilemmas

— Achieving the level of reasoning of distinguishing between what is possible and dreams

— Formulating a workable belief and value system

PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

— Identity vs. role confusion

VOCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

— Crystallizing a vocational preference

— Specifying a vocational preference

— Implementing a vocational preference

of living.[3] Our task as educators, is to help students relate work to lifestyles that are satisfying and effective.

Rationale for the program

As people develop, they continually confront developmental tasks which they must successfully complete. Guidance programs, therefore, must be rooted in a knowledge of developmental theory (Table 1).

In the career model, the individual is conceived as moving along one of a number of pathways leading to a lifestyle centered on work. This developmental process, a fluid process of growth and learning, "moves from a beginning level of awareness and differentiation (perceptualization), to the next level of conceptualizing relationships and meanings (conceptualization), to the highest level of behavioral consistency and effectiveness by both internal and external evaluation (generalization)."[4]

During this process, students learn to take on new and more challenging roles and must learn to cope with discon-

3. Donald H. Blocher, Social Change and the Future of Vocational Guidance in *Career Guidance for a New Age*, Henry Borow Ed. Houghton-Hamilton Co. Ltd., 1973, pp. 69-70.

4. Gysbers and Moore, *Improving Guidance Programs*, p. 73.

TABLE 2

Life Skills

1. Knowledge of personal strengths and weaknesses.
2. Ability to use exploratory resources to reality-test personal characteristics.
3. Knowledge of educational, occupational, social life-style options.
4. Ability to choose.
5. Skills in interpersonal relations.
6. Employability skills.
7. Understanding of personal roles.
8. Understanding of the interdependence of educational and occupational structures.
9. Time management.
10. Ability to see oneself as *someone* of worth and dignity.

tinuous events in their lives. What are needed are coping skills, of life skills, alluded to in the definition of lifestyle, ten of which have been identified by Herr and Cramer (Table 2)[5] as appropriate areas for competency development in a career education program.

The crucial aspects of guidance services as its relevance to impending decision-making. Paul Tilloch has said that man only becomes human at the moment of decision. Career development is a decision-making process which helps a student narrow down the range of possibilities and then strengthen the possibilities which remain. Decision-making then is the central competency; people need to isolate and understand various criteria (such as needs, interests, aptitudes, values used to rate each of the possible alternatives open to them in some or all of the following life theme areas:

1. Occupational (an individual's job, current activities in the job, future asperations)
2. Personal-functional (self-development)
3. Financial-acquisitive (accumulation of wealth, material possessions)
4. Locale-residential (choosing a place of residence)
5. Marital-familial (family connected affairs related to marriage)

5. Edwin Herr and Stanley Cramer, *Career Guidance Through the Life Span*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979, p. 33.

6. Parental-familial (matters that relate to parents, siblings, parental relatives)
7. Recreational-social (free-time pursuits)
8. Religious-humanism (activities of an ethical or humanistic nature)
9. Service (community services, volunteer work)[6]

Since, ultimately it is the student who must make the decisions, and who must face the consequences of those decisions, students need to develop competencies in the 10 life skill areas as well as build up a body of knowledge on which to make decisions. The knowledge and skills become the criteria against which career alternatives can be rated. (Table 3). A medical model of counselling will not suffice because, in a treatment model, the responsibility lies with the person prescribing the treatment. Since the student must take responsibility for his decisions, what is needed is a comprehensive preventative, developmental program centered on the decision-making process. Research studies across North America have demonstrated that effective counsellors have a positive impact on self-esteem, decision-making skills, the transition from school to work, and education. Further, needs assessment studies have confirmed that a developmental career education program is what students and their parents want.

Finally, as part of the rationale for the program, it is helpful to look at three groups of students typically found in every secondary school. The first group are the potential drop-outs whose general profile would include the following characteristics:

1. Poor self-image — a failure identity usually expressed in dress and attitude.
2. Discipline problem — seeks attention or withdraws.
3. Poor life skills — cannot make decisions, has a poor attendance record.
4. Lacks motivation — usually expressed in lack of attention to homework and studies.
5. Lacks interpersonal skills — uses immature reactions in peer groups, cannot communicate with adults.
6. Not future-oriented — lives in the here and now, has a fear of the future.
7. Family problems — often does not feel loved at home.
8. Dependent.

6. David J. Drum and Howard E. Figler, *Outreach in Counselling*. Cranson, R.I.: The Carroll Press, 1976, p. 155.

TABLE 3

Career Decision

Occupational Groups						
Occupations						
Communication Skills						
Needs						
Values						
Behavior Patterns						
Temperament						
Strengths						
Expressed Interests						
Measured Interests						
Expressed Work Activity Interests						
Measured Work Activity Interests						
Data-People Things						
Aptitudes						
Abilities						
Skills						
Work Personality						
Lifestyle						
Work Experience						
Leisure Experience						
Education						
Study Skills						
Opinions of Others						
Economy						
Other						
TOTAL RATING						

9. Cannot deal responsibly with moral dilemmas.
10. Confused about roles.
11. Values unclarified.

In general, potential drop-outs appear to be retarded in the developmental tasks associated with adolescents; to a greater or lesser degree, they are learning disabled.

The second group are the majority of youngsters in a school - the "average" student. These students typically exhibit inadequate career planning, decision-making, and job-seeking skills. Not only do they feel incapable of vocational decision, but in general, they lack a sense of being in control of their own destiny. They fear of the future produces anxiety which in time leads to avoidance behavior with respect to career planning. They too have poor communication skills. Typically they are delayed in accomplishing one or more of the developmental tasks associated with adolescence.

The third group is a small one and represents the ideal. These students exhibit positive healthy growth and have positive self-concepts. They can identify the chief sources of satisfaction in their lives and can cope effectively with stress. They call on decision-making strategies to make decisions, develop realistic plans for attaining goals, and motivate themselves to purposeful action. They then take responsibility for the consequences of their choices. By looking at this third group we have, of course, defined the outcomes of a career education program.

Selecting and Using A Program Model

Ken Hoyt, in an address to the 8th Bienniel CGCA conference, identified three new goals for career education:

1. To deliver the ten identified life skills.
2. Through a variety of liaison systems, to link the community to education to promote the first goals.
3. To change the educational system in ways that exercise educational productivity and facilitate the career development of student.

Career counsellors therefore are, cast in an educator's and consultants role, responsible both for curriculum development and community liaison.

Gysbers, in his address to the OSCA '78 Conference, suggested six major points as a basic orientation for program development. First, the program must have a curriculum base and be developed around student outcome - oriented aims and objectives. These aims and objectives are in turn based on identified needs, not on the traditional role of the counsellor. And because of the student outcome focus, the program can be easily evaluated - to ensure that students

FIGURE 1

Delivery of Guidance and Counselling Services to Various Client Groups

develop the competencies reflected in the outcome statements. Counsellors can manage the program by organizing it around key types of decisions; the program then is not just a collection of activities. Finally because concepts of systems design are employed in developing and organizing the program, the program will always reflect needs and will therefore be future-orientated.

TABLE 4

Questions to Consider in Program Development

1. *PLANNING (Understanding Student Needs and Program Resources)*
   a. What major areas of the guidelines will serve as the basis for program development?
   b. What is the nature of the community in which you are operating? (e.g. income and educational levels, resources, ethnic and cultural make-up, local workforce projections and stated needs)
   c. What is the nature of the educational environment? (educational goals, funding, people and material resources)
   d. What are the current needs of the students to be served by the program? (needs assessment data and prioritized needs)
   e. What aims and objectives will be developed to meet those needs?

2. *ORGANIZING (Information Required To Identify Appropriate Strategies and Competencies)*
   a. How is the current use of counsellor and other staff time related to priority needs of students?
   b. What are some possible new approaches that might more effectively meet student needs?
   c. What competencies are needed? What staff competencies are available?

3. *IMPLEMENTING (Strategies and Resources For Making the Program Operational)*
   a. What is the best delivery system for implementing the program relative to time resources and meeting the largest number of student needs?
   b. Is there a stated plan and time line for implementation?

4. *EVALUATING (Information about the effectiveness of the program-strengths weaknesses and program revisions required)*
   a. Is there a plan for collection of data relating to the effectiveness of student learning outcomes?
   b. Is there a plan to utilize this data for program review and revision?

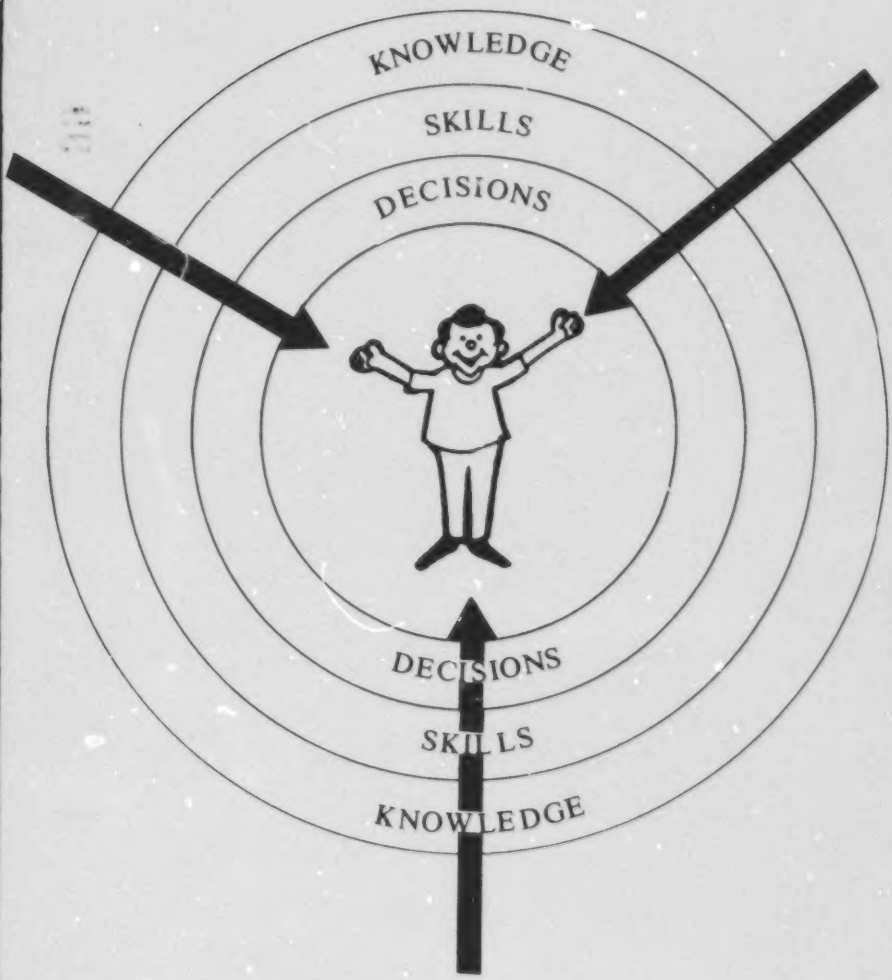

FIGURE 2

Knowledge, Skills, Decision

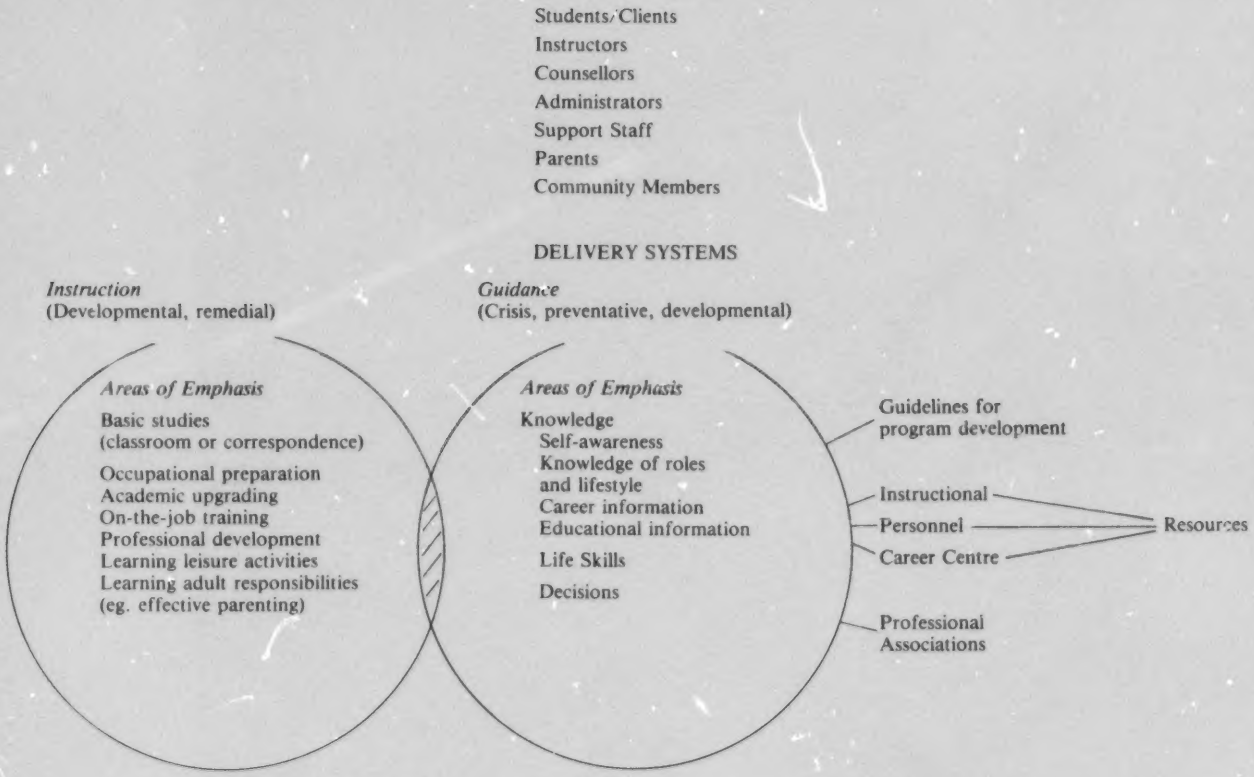

FIGURE 3

The Life Career Model Delivery System

(adapted from Gysbers and Moore, Improving guidance Programs, p. 61.)

In their Developmental Model, the Ontario School Counsellors suggested a number of questions to be considered while developing a program (Table 4). Programs must be created that ensure that individuals at every stage of development will obtain the knowledge, learn the skills or competencies, and make the decisions necessary for the successful accomplishment of each developmental task that confronts them (Figure 2).

For the CGCA position paper and for the program at Macdonald, the Gysbers model was adapted to reflect the division between instruction and guidance programming (Figure 3). Throughout one's life, each person will be involved continually in a variety of education and training programs, will be learning new leisure activities, particularly as age limits or forces changes in physical activities or as new interests develop, and will be learning new responsibilities such as effective parenting or caring for aging parents. The concept of recurrent education, that is, people dropping out and re-entering formal education, means that instruction will continue throughout life. The focus of such instruction can be either remedial or developmental. Thus instruction becomes one major aspect of a delivery system.

Equal in importance is the need for guidance and counselling. The second circle outlines the program model previously developed. Note that the focus can be developmental, preventative, or crisis. Overlap of the two areas occurs because at times the instructional program should support the guidance program while at other times, the guidance program supports the instructional program. And of course, both parts operate independently of the other for certain periods of time.

Involved in the program are all groups in the community, both in a user capacity and in a support or resource role.

Three broad areas of resources do exist. First, professional associations will be a source of resource material, program suggestions, and professionals willing to share their expertise. these associations as well as government administrators often have developed guidelines for program development which may or may not be prescriptive. Finally, actual program resources can be classified into three groups - personnel resources, instructional resources, and resource centres.

As noted earlier, in this model, the student is conceived as moving along one of a number of pathways leading to a lifestyle centered on work. The success of that movement is related to the extent of a person's competencies in life skills. That movement is represented by the model outlined in Figure 4. The outline of aims and objectives (Table 5) uses

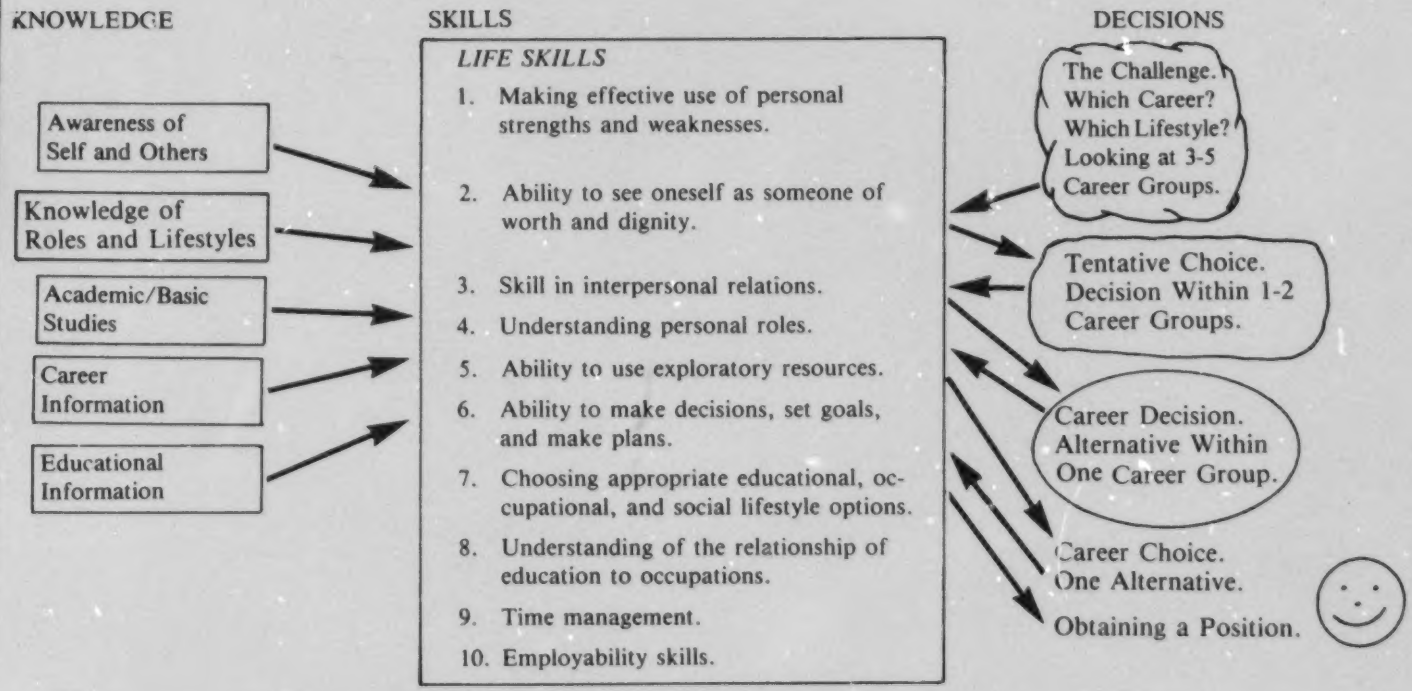
KNOWLEDGE
Awareness of Self and Others
Knowledge of Roles and Lifestyles
Academic/Basic Studies
Career Information
Educational Information
SKILLS
LIFE SKILLS
1. Making effective use of personal strengths and weaknesses.
2. Ability to see oneself as someone of worth and dignity.
3. Skill in interpersonal relations.
4. Understanding personal roles.
5. Ability to use exploratory resources.
6. Ability to make decisions, set goals, and make plans.
7. Choosing appropriate educational, occupational, and social lifestyle options.
8. Understanding of the relationship of education to occupations.
9. Time management.
10. Employability skills.
DECISIONS
The Challenge. Which Career? Which Lifestyle? Looking at 3-5 Career Groups.
Tentative Choice. Decision Within 1-2 Career Groups.
Career Decision. Alternative Within One Career Group.
Career Choice. One Alternative.
Obtaining a Position.

FIGURE 4
The Process of Career Development

TABLE 5

Aims For Career Education Program

Measurement (All Grades)

1. To acquire information through standardized testing.
2. To use the results of standardized tests to help with educational and career decisions.

Early Secondary To Grade 10

A. Awarencss of Self and Others

1. Clarification of Self-Concept

   To develop and incorporate understanding of unique personal characteristics and abilities.

2. Developing Understanding of Others

   To develop an understanding of how people interact with others.

B. Knowledge of Roles and Lifestyle

   To develop an understanding of the interactive affects of lifestyle, life roles, settings, and events.

C. Academic / Basic Studies

   To develop an understanding of effective study habits.

D. Career Information

   To develop an understanding of sources, and value, of career information.

E. Educational Information

   To develop an understanding of sources, and value, of educational information.

F. Life Skills

1. To make effective use of personal strengths and weaknesses.
2. To develop the ability to see oneself as someone of worth and dignity.
3. To develop skills in interpersonal relationships.
4. To develop an understanding of personal roles.
5. To develop the ability to use exploratory resources.
6. To develop the ability to make decisions, set goals, and make plans.

TABLE 5 Cont'd

7. To choose appropriate educational, occupational, and social lifestyle options.
8. To develop an understanding of the relationship of education to occupations.
9. To develop time management skills.
10. To develop employability skills.

G. Decisions

To apply decision-making skills.

Senior Secondary to Pre-College

A. Awareness of Self and Others

1. Reality Testing of Self-Concept

To help students see themselves as people with unique needs, aptitudes, interests, values, and skills who are free to make responsible choices that contribute to both their growth and the needs of society.

2. Developing Effective Relationships With Others

To develop and maintain effective relationships with others.

B. Awareness of Preferred Lifestyles

To analyze the interactive effects of potential life roles, settings, events, and lifestyles.

C. Academic / Basic Studies

To develop an understanding of the value of effective study skills.

D. Acquiring Knowledge of Occupational Paths

To increase knowledge of, and experience in, work settings and occupations.

E. Acquiring Knowledge of Educational Paths

To increase knowledge of post-secondary educational alternatives.

F. Life Skills

Same aims as grades 9 — 10.

G. Decisions

To formulate tentative career decisions.

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the developmental process of acquiring knowledge, learning skills, and making decisions. This categorization parallels the Gysbers model. Competencies at the perceptualization or knowledge level tend to be those associated with self-awareness and with coping with the environment. People can begin to acquire this knowledge in the elementary grades. Conceptualization or skills objectives either relect directional tendencies or adaptive/adjustive behavior and can begin to be learned in late elementary years and early secondary. Guidance competencies at the generalization or decisions level can be classified as accommodation, satisfaction, and mastery and are usually associated with late adolescence or adulthood. As Glasser points out, to find the happiness we all desire we have to figure out:

1) what to do (knowledge)
2) how to do it (skills)
3) where to get the strength to get it done (decision-making, goal setting and action planning)[7]

In Figure 4, each of the six boxes represents one area within which students must develop a number of competencies, each of which, in turn, will become the performance objectives for each unit of a guidance program. The process indicated by the arrows represents a gradual narrowing for the decision as more knowledge is gained and life skills developed.

One area — testing and measurement — is not included in the diagram because it impinges on all areas. Standardized testing is used to help the student identify alternatives to be considered, to help evaluate each alternative, and to help determine the suitability of tentative plans. Test results can add to self-knowledge so that a student can achieve a balance between what he/she knows about himself/herself and career plans.

In the self-awareness areas, the focus is on helping individuals understand themselves and others. Through an analysis of personal characteristics and sources of self-information, students can find an answer to the question, "Who am I?". They, therefore, can develop personal values or standards, and can begin to develop plans for self-improvement. As well, by considering their awareness and acceptance of others, individuals can answer another question, "How do I relate to others?". They can learn how to create and maintain relationships with others, thereby developing a sense of connectedness to others, a feeling so necessary to mental health. Learning to develop relation-

7. William Glasser, *Positive Addiction*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976, p. 3.

ships with others is related to self-awareness, life skills, and decision-making. For, as Rollo May points out,

> The meaning of others in a group is determined by our relationship to them ... I never can experience its members as friends except as I commit myself to friendship. And thus human love always depends upon such factors as personal decision and commitment to others.[8]

The intent of programs in this area is for students to take responsibility for their own behavior to use their self-knowledge in career planning. As an example, one aim in this area for senior secondary school students would be to be able to describe their own unique needs, abilities, values, interests, and other personal resources.

Gysbers (1981) suggests that the focus in the second area, knowledge of roles and lifestyle should be on the interrelatedness of life roles, settings, and events in which individuals participate over their life-span. Individuals can learn about the psychological, sociological, and economic aspects of their world, learn to recognize stereotyping, and consider the impact of future changes on themselves and on society. As a result of these learnings, people will begin to develop lifestyle preferences. Again, as an example, an aim for people in this area would be to develop and incorporate an understanding of the interactive effects of lifestyles, life roles, settings, and events. Students in a senior high school would be expected to assess these effects and to determine how they lead to a preferred lifestyle.

The third area is basic to the development of the total person — knowledge and understanding in the fundamental areas of languages, the arts and the sciences as well as a number of specific vocational-oriented subject areas. While it is not a responsibility of professional in the helping professions to teach the subject content, they do have, as a part of their job description, to help students understand the value of academic studies as well as to help students develop the attitudes and skills necessary to success in school. In addition, students will be able to relate knowledge from the self-awareness and life roles areas to the pursuit of academic studies. For example, an aim in this area would be to help students, at any age, develop the study skills necessary to ensure success in their education endeavors.

The fourth and fifth areas provide the information base necessary to occupational and educational decisions. In addition, individuals learn to relate career and educational

8. Rollo May, *Existential Psychotherapy*. Toronto: CBC Publications, 1969, p. 6.

alternatives to self-knowledge and preferred lifestyle. An example of a program aim in this area would be to introduce sources of career information. Another important one in the present economic climate would be to develop an awareness of the state of the economy and employment trends.

The sixth area is a major one for it encompasses the ten life skills with which people have to become competent if their eventual choices are to benefit them and society. The central competency in this area is decision-making. This skill helps the student to answer a third key question, "What control do I have over myself?" Mastery of this skill will give people a sense of personal power; they will then be in a position to assume control over their destiny. They will begin to accept responsibility for making their own choices rather than relying on others to direct their lives. And they will direct the future course of their lives by setting personally relevant goals and making detailed plans to achieve them.

A second life skill related to effective decisions-making is the skill in gathering information from various resources. This skill then grows out of the knowledge students have gained from the first five areas. It is one thing to be aware of information or sources of information; it is another to use these resources effectively.

The other life skills develop logically from the first five areas. For example, as a result of learning about personal characteristics and developing an acceptance of others and an awareness of how they interact with others, people develop skills in making effective use of their personal strengths and weaknesses, begin to see themselves as people of worth and dignity, and develop effective communication skills. Similarily, knowledge of life roles, settings and events leads to a sense of identity and an awareness of preferred lifestyles.

A broad aim in this area would be to teach creative problem-solving and decision-making skills. Another would be to introduce methods of gathering information. Finally, since a final task of counsellors at the secondary level and beyond is placement, an important aim would be to help students develop the skills necessary to obtain and be successful in employment.

Developing the New Model

A variety of implementation strategies exist to help students develop the life skills required to help them make the transition to post-secondary institutions or employment. Perhaps the best strategy in developing a comprehensive career education program is to offer a credit course in career education/life skills that would be designed to help students

discover information about themselves and then apply that knowledge to appropriate goals and objectives. These courses can be offered over the school year or the various units of the program can be offered in a developmental sequence over four years. Table 6 outlines a program offered as an option to Grade 11 students. Table 7 represents a program developed to meet the needs of potential drop-outs. Students in this program meet together in a special home form as well as for a regularly scheduled period and has been successful in holding a number of students in school to graduation. This finding has been confirmed by the OSSTF study, *Holding Power*, which found that schools with effective career education programs have a lower drop-out rate.

Table 8 outlines an approach which breaks the full credit course into a series of mini-courses. Students who take the entire program as part of a small group can develop the major competencies required for effective life-long career planning as well as earn a full credit. This program has considerable flexibility since it can be offered as a credit or as individual units to meet specific needs. It can be team-taught or it can be infused with the academic curriculum.

An effective program should have an out-of-school component as well as an in-school component. Work experience, in the form of cooperative education, can be the capstone of the career development concept. It helps students develop specific skills and employability skills as well as career development competencies.

An extensive program needs to be supported by adequate resources, both in terms of personnel, and in terms of instructional aids such as CHOICES. The program must have an adequate time, and trained staff. Finally, an effective public relations program must be maintained both within the school and with the community.

A credible professional image depends on effective guidance and counselling programs. The programs at Macdonald represent one small attempt to develop such an image and to meet the needs of our students.

TABLE 6

Life Skills Education and Career Development

CD3XO

A. *Introduction*

1. Overview of life career planning
2. Need for life skills
3. Personal inventory
4. Setting goals and making plans

B. *Self-Awareness*

1. Sources of self-information
2. Personality — Holland theory
3. Need theory
4. Temperament and behavior
5. Interests
6. Aptitudes and skills
7. Personal values

C. *Developing Life Skills*

1. Dealing with moral dilemmas
2. Communication skills
3. Creative problem-solving and decision-making

D. *Theories of Career Development*

1. Non-psychological
2. Psychological

E. *Appraising Career Information Resources*

1. Printed resources
2. Computerized resources
3. Direct contracts
4. Classifying occupations

F. *Building a Personal Identity and Lifestyle*

1. Roles
2. Settings
3. Events
4. Lifestyle and Values

TABLE 6 Cont'd

G. *Appraising Opportunities for Continuing Education*

1. Values of education
2. Subject and career
3. Universities
4. Colleges
5. Apprenticeship training
6. Other alternatives
7. Financing an education

H. *Leisure Time*

1. Planning Leisure time
2. Education and leisure
3. Relation to leisure to career activities

I. *Developing a Life Career Growth Plan*

1. Benefits of work
2. Applying decision skills to career and educational choices
3. Developing an action plan

J. Developing Skills for Obtaining and Holding a Job

1. Obtaining part-time work
2. Locating job openings
3. Resume
4. Letter of application
5. Application forms
6. The interview
7. The successful employee

TABLE 7

Life Skills Education CD3GO

Course of Study

A. *Introduction*
   1. Overview of life career planning
   2. Need for life skills
   3. Feelings/attitudes to
      a. school
      b. home
      c. self
   4. Personal inventory
   5. Setting goals and making plans

B. *Self-Awareness: Appraising Personal Resources*
   1. Personal qualities
   2. Needs
   3. Personality types
   4. Interests
   5. Temperaments
   6. Aptitudes and skills
   7. Personal Values

C. *Developing Life Skills*
   1. Communication skills
   2. Study skills
      a. Organizing for effective learning
      b. Taking notes
      c. Study methods
      d. Writing tests and examinations
   3. Time management skills
   4. Decision-making skills

D. *Appraising Career Information Resources*
   1. Printed resources
   2. Computerized resources
   3. Direct contacts

E. *Building a Personal Identity and Lifestyle*
   1. Roles
   2. Settings
   3. Events
   4. Lifestyles and values

TABLE 7 Cont'd

F. *Appraising Opportunities for Continuing Education*

1. Value of education
2. Subjects and careers
3. Universities
4. Colleges
5. Apprenticeship training
6. Other alternatives

G. *Developing a Life Career Growth Plan*

1. Benefits of work
2. Applying decision skills to a career choice
3. Developing an action plan

H. *Developing Skills for Obtaining and Holding a Job*

1. Obtaining part-time work
2. Locating job openings
3. Resume
4. Letter of Application
5. Application forms
6. The interview
7. The successful employee

TABLE 8

Career Development and Life Skills Education

The following is a proposed program outline designed to offer a credit course in CD over a four year period.

YEAR 1

1. Measurement (2 periods)
   a. California Occupational Preference Survey (COPS)
   b. Interpretation
2. Self-Awareness (2 periods)
   a. Personal inventory
   b. Discussion of interests, aptitudes, skills, strengths, and other sources of information about self
3. Life Skills (4 periods)
   a. C-lab
   b. Setting goals and making plans
      — profile sheet for OSR
4. Educational Information (3 periods)
   a. How to Study
      — taking notes, in class, from texts
   b. Studying for tests and exams
   c. Writing tests and examinations
   d. Obtaining extra help, tutors
5. Career Information (5)
   a. Using SGIS
   b. Other sources of career information
   c. Investigating careers suggested by COPs and students interest
   d. Career reports

YEAR 2

1. Measurement (2 periods)
   a. Self-Directed Search
   b. Interpretation
2. Self-Awareness (3 periods)
   a. Needs — Maslow's theory
   b. Temperament and behavior
   c. Personality and Work Environment (Holland)
   d. Information about self — review and changes since last year

TABLE 8 Cont'd

3. Life Skills (4 periods)
   a. Learning to relate to — teachers, parents, peers
   b. Review of profile sheet
      — new goals and plans
4. Educational Information (3 periods)
   a. Planning for senior high school
   b. Post-secondary alternatives
   c. Relation of alternatives to Holland codes
   d. Requirements for admission
5. Career Information (4 periods)
   a. Investigating careers suggested by SDS
   b. Career reports
   c. Job-Shadowing (1 day)

YEAR 3

1. Measurement (4 or 7 periods — depending on aptitude test)
   a. Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory
   b. An aptitude test — DAT or California Aptitude Inventory
   c. Interpretation
2. Self-Awareness (5 periods)
   a. Review of self-information
   b. Abilities inventory
   c. Values clarification
   d. Values and careers
3. Life Skills (4 periods)
   a. Decision-making skills
   b. Up-date profile
4. Educational Information (6 periods)
   a. University alternatives
   b. CAAT
   c. Apprenticeship
   d. Private trade schools
   e. Research 2 alternatives
   f. Reports on research
5. Career Information (3 periods)
   a. Investigate 2 careers from each of top 3 Holland categories
   b. Career reports
   c. Work week

TABLE 8 Cont'd

6. Employment Applications (5 periods)
   a. Finding job openings
   b. Resume
   c. Letter of application
   d. Application forms
   e. The Job interview

YEAR 4

1. Measurement (2 periods)
   a. JVIS
   b. Interpretation
2. Self-Awareness (6 periods)
   a. Review of Self-information
   b. Roles and lifestyle
   c. Quick Job Hunting Map — skills
3. Life Skills (3 periods)
   a. Applying the decision-making model to
      i. career choice
      ii. post-secondary educational choice
   b. Final update on profile sheet
4. Educational Information (2 periods)
   a. Financing an education
   b. Review of alternatives
5. Career Information (3 periods)
   a. Major research assignment on top alternative, including education required
   b. Interview of a worker in the occupation
   c. Career reports
6. Employment Applications (2 periods)
   a. How to be an employee

SUPPORT SERVICES

1. Career resource centre. Suggest room 136 for our use—for displays, posters, filmstrips, group work.
2. Career Week.
3. Weekly or twice monthly newsletter.
4. Tours to universities, colleges, businesses.
5. Information Service — to operate like a library to cut down on theft.
6. Career and educational speakers.

TABLE 8 Cont'd

STAFFING

There are 77 proposed periods of instruction on this program grade 9 through 12. That means, if each full-time counsellor could take on one group at each grade level, he/she would be meeting a group every second day all year (on average). Assuming 6 counsellors and a group of 10 students in each case, this program would impact 60 students at each grade level.

Performance Evaluation of Guidance Counsellors

André Cadieux,
Guidance and Career Consultant,
Ottawa Board of Education, and

Denis Drouin,
Head, Guidance Department,
École secondaire Belcourt, Ottawa.

For two years now, the Ottawa Board of Education has been using a form for the performance evaluation of guidance counsellors. We shall briefly review the background of the form and the basic premises on which it was developed and look at the form itself.

1. *Background :* In 1978-1979 the guidance counselling committee of the Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens, Ottawa Secondaire asked its members to look into a matter of concern to all: performance evaluation of guidance counsellors. From 1978 to 1980, four guidance counsellors who worked in French-language secondary schools in Ottawa, Francine Chartrand, Denis Drouin, Marcel Papineau and Jean-Yves Quirouette, prepared a paper on the subject. Gilbert Lauzon, vice-principal and former guidance counsellor, joined the group as resource person. At the time, evaluation was a much-discussed topic at the Ottawa Board of Education. The Board had a policy of regularly evaluating all the members of its staff. Guidance counsellors were evaluated using the same form as the one used to evaluate teachers. The guidance counsellors, along with the librarians, were not entirely satisfied with the situation. They therefore decided to work together to remedy it. After a short time, the two groups formed separate committees. Here we shall deal with the work of the committee that examined the performance evaluation of guidance counsellors.

The committee began its work by reviewing the literature to find out what evaluation tools were already being used. An ERIC search was carried out for the United States and several Canadian provinces in order to gather as much material as possible. The committee found that the existing tools were either not precise enough or too precise. Most of them were based on self-evaluation. Having found no suitable existing tool, the committee decided to draw up its own form. After two years' work, the committee submitted a model to the heads of guidance departments and all the

guidance counsellors who were members of the AEFO. Each counsellor was asked to make comments, suggest changes and try out the form. The revision process took approximately one year, and at each stage all the guidance counsellors were involved. When, in May 1981, the form was submitted to the superintendent in charge of evaluation, it had been unanimously approved by the guidance counsellors and their professional association, the Ottawa secondary regional unit of the AEFO. Mr. R.M. Dunlop, superintendent in charge of evaluation, made a number of recommendations in light of the evaluation policy and procedures of the Ottawa Board of Education. The recommendations, however, did not go against the spirit of the form originally proposed by the guidance counsellors.

In the fall of 1981, two workshops on the subject were held during the Ontario School Counsellors' Association convention. Feedback from guidance counsellors from all over the province was conveyed to the form committee. At the same time, the committee of heads of guidance departments in English-language secondary schools of the Ottawa Board of Education and the members of the Guidance Council of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) reacted favourably to the committee's report. A bilingual form was finalized and approved by the executive committee of the Ottawa Board of Education for use on a trial basis. The form has been used in both French- and English-language schools of the Ottawa Board of Education for two years. Guidance counsellors finally have an evaluation tool created by them, for them.

The proposed form is intended to be a tool for both the evaluation and the personal and professional development of guidance counsellors; we feel it allows an evaluation of all the aspects of the guidance counsellor's work to be done. It is meant to be used for a joint evaluation by the counsellor and his department head and by the counsellor and his principal.

The form has been used for two years now for the performance evaluation of guidance counsellors. We can honestly say that we have attained our objectives: the evaluation of guidance counsellors and their personal and professional development. Using the form has enabled us to evaluate all aspects of our work, but above all it has enabled counsellors to grow, personally and professionally.

2. *Premises :* The counsellor evaluation form is based on four premises:

(1) Our work can be evaluated;

(2) Evaluation is part of development;

(3) The evaluation of a counsellor is not the evaluation of the department;

(4) Evaluation of a counsellor must be both flexible and structured.

1. *Our Work can be evaluated*
   - specific duties (HS1, etc)
   - specific job (vis-à-vis pupils)
   - professional people should regularly evaluate their work
   - personal objectives make stagnation less likely
   - as employees, we have a duty toward our employer
   - availability of evaluation tools (grid, etc)

2. *Evaluation is part of development*
   - both for the evaluator and the person being evaluated (makes for clarification)
   - implies an exchange on a philosophy (education, guidance, etc)
   - implies an agreement on the form and substance of the work and the evaluation
   - active and equal participation by both parties
   - ongoing process (in time and scope)
   - individual development leads to development of the profession
   - evaluation of a person is not criticism
   - makes for new awareness of personal and professional objectives

3. *The evaluation of a counsellor is not the evaluation of the department*
   - it should not be taken for granted that when a department is being evaluated the counsellors who work in it are being evaluated too
   - the evaluation of a department's program comes under the evaluation of the head and not of the counsellors
   - implies a clarification in the department of the specific responsibilities assigned to and assumed by each counsellor

4. *Evaluation of a counsellor must be both flexible and structured*
   - structured
     - to meet the Board's requirements
     - makes a breakdown of our work possible
     - to meet professional requirements

- a written evaluation is preferable
- flexible
  - to take into consideration the specific needs of each school
  - to take into consideration the possible requirements of the administration of each school and of each board
  - to take into consideration the priorities each department may set
  - to take into consideration the personal priorities each counsellor may set so as to leave room for flexibility in the process
  - to oblige the evaluator and the person being evaluated to be clear about the form and substance of the evaluation.

3. *Form :* We suggest that the first stage of the evaluation consists in an exchange of views between the persons concerned, so that each can find out the other's opinion of the proposed criteria and how to complete the form.

Attached are a copy of the form, an explanation of the rating scale and definitions of the terms used.

RATING SCALE DEFINITIONS

1. *OUTSTANDING*	Observed performance consistently exceeds standards in all respects. Results beyond the normal expectation are apparent, a leadership example is set for others, and there appears to be little or no room for improvement.
2. *HIGHLY SATISFACTORY*	Observed performance meets all standards and frequently exceeds in many respects.
3. *SATISFACTORY*	Observed performance is adequate in all respects. Reasonable results are attained.
4. *NEEDS IMPROVEMENT*	Observed performance is barely adequate. Additional supervision is required to produce more satisfactory results.
5. *UNSATISFACTORY*	Observed performance is inadequate and results are poor. Documentation should begin.

GUIDELINE FOR THE EVALUATION

A GENERAL OUTLINE

A. *COUNSELLING (individual or group)*

1. *Procedure:*
   Procedure to develop rapport; availability; greeting; grasp of problem; flow of interview; length...
2. *Skills:*
   Relevancy; respect of student (person, values, problems); listening skills; problem identification; confidentiality; counsellor's and student's autonomy; verification of content; student's feelings and perceptions; testing...
3. *Communication:*
   Clarity; awareness of counsellor's verbal and non-verbal communication; awareness of student's verbal and non-verbal communication; aim and appropriateness of interventions; respect for student's ongoing development...
4. *Follow-up:*
   Overall structure; identification and pursuit of goals; synthesis; conclusion and follow-up; referral or consultation if need be; opportunities for growth...

B. *STUDENT GROWTH (How the counsellor permits the growth of the student)*

1. *Adaptation to Students' Needs:*
   Detection of students' particular needs; elaboration of strategies fulfilling these needs; periodical reevaluation of students' needs...
2. *Strategy Evaluation:*
   Review of strategies, follow-up, consultations; recommendations...
3. *Resources for decision making:*
   Counsellor competencies; knowledge of internal and external resources...

C. *GROUP WORK*

1. *Knowledge of Subject:*
   Relevant and up-to-date information; activities appropriate to group...

2. *Organization and Planning:*
   Long range and lesson objectives; can direct students to appropriate resource materials; presentation of pertinent material; orderliness and neatness; follow-up activities; motivation...
3. *Instructional Techniques:*
   Appropriate; varied; effective; AVA materials; resource persons; field trips; community resources...
4. *Student Participation:*
   Effective student involvement; respect of students' interests...

D. *PERSONAL GROWTH*

1. *Demonstration of Personal Growth*
   Interest in one's growth by various experiences and professional research...
2. *Ability for Self-criticism:*
   Analysis of interventions; setting up of personal objectives...
3. *Acceptance and Use of Constructive Criticism:*
   Acknowledgement of feedback; willingness to improve; acceptance of criticism as a learning experience...

E. *PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT*

1. *Knowledge of New Trends in the Profession:*
   Familiarization with new trends, ideas and programs...
2. *Professional Contribution:*
   Contribution within the school, board, community or professional associations...
3. *Professional Development:*
   Participation and involvement in workshops, courses and other upgrading activities...

F. *CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOOL LIFE*

1. *Department:*
   Cooperation towards departmental tasks; contribution to the implementation of departmental objectives...

   Adherance to departmental policy...

   Contribution to general atmosphere of the department...
2. *Interpersonal Realtions with staff:*
   Courtesy; support; communication skills; cooperativeness...

3. *Interpersonal Relations with Members of the Community:*
   Support; communication; co-operativeness and liaison with community and education institutions.
4. *Involvement in Student Activities:*
   Participation in student committees, clubs or activities...
5. *Involvement in School Committees:*
   Participation in school committees or activities...

G. *ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS*

1. *Punctuality:*
   Punctual for his/her appointments, meetings and obligations...
2. *Completion of assigned or assumed duties, efficient processing of records and forms:*
   Meeting of deadlines; performance of duties; support for school policies and administration...
3. *Conservation and safe use of materials and equipment:*
   Proper care and handling of school equipment, material and textbooks...

H. *NARRATIVE SUMMARY*

Give a narrative summary of the overall performance during the period under review. The evaluation should provide a picture of the staff member in the setting of his or her present job. Mention should be made of any special factors which have contributed to his or her performance.

I. *TEACHER'S COMMENTS*

In cases where a teacher is dissatisfied with the T.P.R. a request may be made to the principal to reevaluate in the following year.

J. *REVIEWER'S COMMENTS*

The reviewer will be the school superintendent.

Under normal circumstances the Teacher Performance Reviews are completed on a three year cyclical basis.

OTTAWA BOARD OF EDUCATION CONSEIL SCOLAIRE D'OTTAWA

GUIDANCE COUNSELLOR PERFORMANCE REVIEW

Employment and Immigration Canada

Emploi et Immigration Canada

SS1

THE OTTAWA BOARD OF EDUCATION
CONSEIL SCOLAIRE D'OTTAWA

GUIDANCE COUNSELLOR PERFORMANCE REVIEW

REVISION DU RENDEMENT DU (DE LA) CONSEILLER (E) EN ORIENTATION.

Teacher Enseignant(e)	
School Ecole	
Subject(s), Grade(s), or Level(s) of difficulty Matière(s), Année(s), ou niveau (x) degré(s) de difficulté	
Position Poste	
Evaluator Evaluateur/trice	
Teaching Contract Contrat d'enseignement Probationary 1 ☐ 2 ☐ Stagiaire Permanent ☐ Other ☐ Autre	Date Month Mois Year Année

TEACHING EXPERIENCE EXPERIENCE EN ENSEIGNEMENT		Elem	Sec
As of September this school year A compter de septembre de la présente année scolaire	Outside Ottawa A l'extérieur d'Ottawa		
	OBE C.S.O.		
	In this school A cette école		
	In guidance En orientation		

TYPE OF EVALUATION
TYPE D'EVALUATION

Cyclical ☐ Cyclique | Probationary ☐ Provisoire | Transfer ☐ Transfert | Other ☐ Autre

	Unsatisfactory Non-satisfaisant	Needs improvement A besoin d'amélioration	Satisfactory Entièrement Satisfaisant	Highly Satisfactory Excellent	Outstanding Exceptionnel	COMMENTS COMMENTAIRES
A COUNSELLING ENTREVUE						
1. Procedure format						
2. Skills techniques						
3. Communication langage						
4. Follow-up suivi						
B STUDENT GROWTH CROISSANCE DE L'ELEVE						
1. Adaptation to Student Needs adaptation aux besoins des élèves						
2. Strategy evaluation évaluation des projets						
3. Resources for decision making solution de problèmes						
C GROUP WORK TRAVAIL DE GROUPE						
1. Knowledge of subject connaissance de la matière						
2. Organization and planning organisation et planification						
3. Instructional techniques techniques d'enseignement						
4. Student participation participation des élèves						

OSI

	Unsatisfactory Non-satisfaisant	Satisfactory Entièrement satisfaisant	COMMENTS COMMENTAIRES
D **PERSONAL GROWTH** **CROISSANCE PERSONNELLE**			
1. Demonstration of personal growth souci de sa croissance			
2. Ability for self-criticism capacité d'auto-critique			
3. Acceptance and use of constructive criticism capacité de recevoir et d'utiliser une critique constructive			
E **PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT** **DEVELOPPEMENT PROFESSIONNEL**			
1. Knowledge of new trends in the profession connaissance des développements de sa profession			
2. Professional contribution apport professionnel			
3. Professional development perfectionnement professionnel			
F **CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOOL LIFE** **PARTICIPATION A LA VIE D'ECOLE**			
1. Department section			
2. Interpersonal relations (staff) relations interpersonnelles (personnel)			
3. Interpersonal relations (with community) relations interpersonnelles (communauté)			
4. Involvement in student activities activités étudiantes			
5. Involvement in school committees comités d'écoles			
G **ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS** **TACHES ET OBLIGATIONS ADMINISTRATIVES**			
1. Punctuality ponctualité			
2. Completion of assigned or assumed duties, efficient processing of records and forms exécution des tâches assignées ou entreprises; traitement efficace des dossiers et des formulaires			
3. Conservation and safe use of materials and equipment conservation et utilisation prudente des matériaux et de l'équipement			

H NARRATIVE SUMMARY
RÉSUMÉ ET RECOMMANDATIONS

DATE

PRINCIPAL'S SIGNATURE
SIGNATURE DU DIRECTEUR/TRICE D'ECOLE

I COUNSELLOR'S COMMENTS
COMMENTAIRES DE L'ENSEIGNANT(E)

DATE

COUNSELLOR'S SIGNATURE
SIGNATURE DE L'ENSEIGNANT(E)

J REVIEWER'S COMMENTS
COMMENTAIRES DE L'EVALUATEUR(TRICE)

DATE

REVIEWER'S SIGNATURE
SIGNATURE DE L'EVALUATEUR(TRICE)

Trends in Counselling and Guidance in Community Colleges

Jim Blakley
Counsellor
Loyalist College
Belleville, Ont.

Community colleges are caught between two powerful and conflicting forces. On the one hand, postsecondary education in Canada is dieting. Someone has said that the 'three r's' of education in the '80's are not reading, writing and arithmetic but rather retrenchment, reduction and reallocation.

At the same time, and partly because of this forced diet, colleges are becoming increasingly concerned about attracting and retaining students. Thus, institutions are caught between reducing services (including counselling) in order to save money, and maintaining and increasing services to further humanize educational environments to improve our success rates (and to be able to serve the increasing number and diversity of students trying to get into our community colleges.)

In this context, I believe the next few years will be a turning point — for better or for worse — for community college counselling in Canada. Either college counsellors will demonstrate that we are part of the solution to institutional problems or we will stagnate.

Like any other service, counselling must keep up with the evolving needs of its constituencies — primarily students and prospective students but also faculty, administrators and staff. We must derive our objectives from their unique needs. College counselling has changed, as those needs have changed, and we will have to change further to keep pace with our students and colleges.

A few broad trends are emerging.

Trend # 1 — We now have a bigger tool kit to work with. One to one counselling is not enough anymore. It has been easy to see every problem as a nail when our only tool was a hammer. There are many other forms of intervention at the level of the individual, group, class, college program, total student body, prospective student in the community, faculty, staff and administrator, using innovative programming,

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group presentations, various print and electronic media, and other approaches that will be discussed.

Trend # 2 — We are striving to serve a broader spectrum of students. Counsellors are moving towards the adoption of a true student development model.

All students are developing and changing as they deal with the inevitable stresses, decisions, adaptations and problems of college life. They need information, assistance, programs and other resources to be successful and maximize the benefits of their college experience. In short, we now think we have something for almost everybody on our campuses. Although it is an ambitious goal, we feel it is a realistic and even a necessary one.

Trend # 3 — Trends # 1 and # 2 have indicated that community college counsellors have more assistance to offer to more students in more situations.

As we have struggled to reach larger numbers of people, especially those that would not normally walk through the doors of our counselling centres, we have developed many outreach approaches. I will touch on these later.

Trend # 4 — Community college counselling has had to become more oriented towards public relations. College counsellors, in fact most counsellors, have a fundamental image problem. When we are busiest, we are often behind closed doors and invisible. Our successes are rarely acknowledged.

At a time when colleges need broad-based and multi-skilled counselling services, counsellors are often perceived as being narrow and specialized in helping "problem students". These are the attitudes we must change as we ourselves change.

Ten years ago a college president informed a group of counsellors at a professional development meeting that everyone told him how to do his job except the counsellors. He suggested that counsellors should become more assertive in promoting their causes and themselves. I think this has started to happen and that it will continue to expand.

In short, we are learning to promote better what we do, and to do more of what we can promote.

Trend # 5 — Attrition has become a preoccupation with colleges and universities all over North America. If we are to train students, they must remain enrolled. If we are to help students achieve their career goals, they must remain with us long enough for the college to impact on them.

Also, as educators we must remember that students do not quit as often as we do not help them to stay. Of course, all students should not remain in college, but many more

students that are now leaving prematurely can be kept in college working towards their goals.

College counselling is not a service to "retrieve" students. It is a service to help students achieve their own goals. However, we know that the majority of "early college leavers" want to successfully complete a diploma or certificate program and have the ability to do so. Most need help in dealing with problems and in making adjustments of one kind or another. Thus, college counsellors have become more involved with reducing attrition.

Trend # 6 — We are designing group interventions that are more like eating at a fast food restaurant — quick, task-oriented, relatively inexpensive, very cost-effective, and "nutritious" in terms of meeting student needs. The movement from a "private practice model" (the traditional approach in almost all counselling) to a "fast food model" is dictated primarily by a need to do more with less in a shorter time. This analogy may seem negative, but I feel it is a realistic one.

We are moving towards being more extensive and less intensive. Our individual counselling is more goal oriented, time limited, and focused on specific problem solving.

Trend # 7 — College counselling is developing more linkages with the classroom. In less than two decades counselling has moved from being an ancillary service (an extra) to a supplementary service (important but not essential), to a complementary service (one that works in concert with the classroom). Now we are struggling to become central to the educational process. Our skills and resources can help make the classroom, workshop, lab, and the internship setting more conducive to learning.

Trend # 8 — As community colleges have become bigger, more complex and more unionized, most roles have become narrower and more specialized. Teachers teach (and often do not have as much time for individual student contact and advising as they once did), administrators administer, and accountants account. In contrast, counsellors are becoming generalists. We are branching out into many different areas.

Trend # 9 — Denzel Doyle, President of NABU Corporation and past chairman of the Board of Governors of Algonquin College, has used the term "technopeasant" to describe people who are not keeping abreast of rapidly changing technologies. College counsellors cannot afford to be "technopeasants" in two important areas: first, in our knowledge of the changing world of work as it is effected by evolving technology; second, in the tools we use to assist us

in the student development process. Both of these will continue to be challenges for community college counsellors.

Trend # 10 — Our traditional focus on remedial counselling is being replaced by efforts in other directions. College counsellors are moving toward more of a balance in prevention, development and remediation. Here I am defining prevention as trying to reduce the probability of specific problems occurring; development as helping students deal with the more typical concerns of their age and life stage; and remediation as assisting students with more extensive and serious problems that interfere with achievement of their educational and career goals.

Trend # 11 — The eleventh general trend is primarily one of perception. Perhaps it summarizes several of the other trends. There has been a gradual shift of focus from helping the "walking wounded" on an individual basis to assisting as many students as possible in many different ways.

Our perceptions have become much more system-oriented. We see system problems and seek more system solutions. Policy input, teacher-student conflict resolution, staff development and consultation are just examples of more system-oriented approaches that counsellors are involved with.

Service, Program, and Activity

Community college counselling can be broken into three broad areas. First, *services* — the traditional provision of direct service delivered individually or in a small group counselling setting. Second, is *programs* — an entire range of counselling programs like seminars, classroom presentations, information displays, and supervision of peer counselling and peer tutoring. Third is *activities* — impacting on students by effecting changes in policies, procedures, perceptions, problem situations through such interventions as consultation, staff training, resource centres, and applied research.

First, let's look at *services*. The overall objective of college counselling is to assist the student or prospective student in dealing with problems and decisions that may effect that person reaching his/her career, educational or personal goals. This is a problem solving model based on short-term counselling.

A quote by Ron Fox sums this up nicely. "We have known for a long time that good professional advice or brief interventions, when based upon a solid assessment of the situation at hand, can prevent a significant proportion of pro-

blems from developing into major catastrophes." (Fox, p. 2, 1981).

This is true whether the problem is in the area of career development, educational development, or personal development. Thus, college counselling is primarily oriented to brief interventions that impact on students in the successful pursuit of their goals.

The diversity of services required by our students has increased as the diversity of students has increased. A brief list of some of the special needs includes:

Age: The adult learner has different needs than the "young adult", our traditional student. Already some community colleges have 1 in 4 of their postsecondary students aged 23 or above.

Vocational: Unemployment, underemployment and inappropriate employment can all be devastating to an individual's motivation and confidence and his/her ability to seek out and successfully achieve in career and educational opportunities.

Physical: Such problems as deficits of mobility, coordination, visual or auditory functioning can all effect work and school performance.

Financial: Although Federal and Provincial programs for student loans and grants do a great deal to equalize educational opportunities for all Canadians, there will always be some financial barriers to college attendance.

Learning Exceptionalities: More students with learning exceptionalities will be progressing on the postsecondary education.

Probably one of the biggest losses in our present structuring is the accessibility of counselling on a drop in basis. As we get more involved with programming and the provision of indirect services, we are less able to deal with the spontaneous needs of our students. However, crisis counselling is still very much an important part of the work of a community college counsellor.

The second broad area is *programs*. The development of counselling programming in the community colleges has been dramatic. Everything from traditional group counselling to information sessions to workshops to peer tutoring to plant closure programs are being run by college counsellors. The overall emphasis is on "psychoeducation" — providing a counselling perspective to group lecture, group discussion, and group activity focused on coping and adapting. New programmes have evolved to meet emerging student needs so the result is a patchwork of delivery systems, topic areas and target populations.

It has been difficult to break the "Counsellors Counsel Syndrome" — that is, I am trained for individual counselling and that is what I am going to do, even if I could help students more effectively by investing my energy in other activities." However, we seem to have been successful in shifting our attitudes and our skills. Two general categories of programs can be identified. The first is the teaching of enabling skills. The focus here is on giving information, techniques, feedback and common-sense advice that relate to a specific area of student concern.

Most of these programs are curriculum-based interventions — i.e. programs that focus on teaching specific skills in a reproducible way. Programs in areas such as study skills, test taking skills, assertion training, job interview skills training, test anxiety reduction, vocational exploration, time management, reducing math anxiety, and leadership skills for student leaders are all examples. Today's students are very "survival oriented" and these programs tend to be very popular. Students want tools that will enable them to succeed.

Study skills is a good example of an enabling skill program. As community colleges move increasingly in the high technology direction, the study and learning skills of our students become more important than ever before. Many of our first year students are not accustomed to managing their own time, frequent preparation for tests and exams, and studying and learning at the college level. Many struggle as they move up to the intensity of focus that often accompanies postsecondary education.

Transition and support programming is the second category. There are many challenges that face the college student. One of the most difficult is the initial adjustment to college. A major factor disposing students to poor adjustment is the demand for too much adaptation in too short a time without a supportive environment and an information framework. Orientation programs are needed to show new students the available resources and how to use them, to give college and program information, and to provide a setting for students to relate to each other in a meaningful way. Counsellors are usually best able to run comprehensive orientation programs for skill training, academic upgrading and postsecondary students.

Other transition programs include job clubs, career planning groups offered through plant closure programs, and summer seminars for adult students returning to school.

There are many ways that counsellors are using programming to provide support. Older than average student clubs

run by counsellors provide an informal forum for mature students to assist each other. Support groups for women in non-traditional programs are another example. These groups can provide a multiplier effect. One counsellor provides the structure in which many students help each other.

Many of our students are at "developmental crossroads" in their lives and college counsellors are attempting to provide programs to assist their successful transition.

The thrust of many of these counselling programs can be summarized by the title of a play from a few years ago — "I finally got my act together and now I'm taking it on the road". For college counsellors, the "road" is out of our offices and into classrooms and meeting rooms. The "act" is package of programs that we are able to deliver.

The third broad area is *counselling activities.* College counsellors are spending more time in areas outside of traditional direct services and the newer programming focus. The growth in what I call "activities" has been significant. Let me touch on some of these.

College counsellors are increasingly involved with consultation. This includes consulting with teachers about problems they have with individual students and groups of students, and consulting with administrators and other college staff on larger-scale issues like attrition, student life, admission problems, or program difficulties.

Like teachers, we have a front-line perspective. In addition,we have a very global view because we deal daily with students and staff from all parts of the college. This gives us a better information based to work from in consultation.

As our institutions grow both larger and more diverse, individual departments and academic programs become more specialized. Human problems are created by the complex interaction of students needs, college policy and procedure, faculty and administrative goals.

Consequently, the brokering role has emerged as an important one for college counsellors. The counsellor as a third party can foster cooperation and assist as a "middleman" in the negotiating process. Sometimes a little "shuttle diplomacy" is useful as well as old fashioned "horse trading". They did not teach us these things in counsellor education.

The development of counselling resource centres is another important trend. Never has information been so critical in the counselling process. College libraries already have many information resources related to career, educational, and personal-social concerns. However, counsellors are striving to package information to increase "usability".

The resources must be accessible, appropriate for our students and prospective students, and most importantly, we must provide information to them when they are ready to use it. The key is to make the information personally relevant and to assist students in processing the information. Otherwise, we merely contribute to their "overload" of information.

Counselling centres are using more videotapes, movies and audiotapes for independent student use as well as in seminars and group presentations. As we deal with larger groups of people in more varied settings, audio-visual resources become more essential.

Increasingly counsellors are moving into the production of information and self-help materials. Several college counsellors have written excellent booklets on topics such as study skills and test taking. The sophistication of writing and production has now reached the point where college counsellor written booklets are being printed and sold outside of community colleges, E.G. Craig Barrett, Humber (1982) and Rita MacDonald, Mohawk (1979).

The computer has opened many doors for the college counsellor. In fact, some people believe that the face of counselling in all settings will be dramatically changed when computers are fully exploited.

Much counselling is information oriented but there is a human need to receive that information in a way that is immediate and individualized. Computers can enhance this capability, especially when manipulating large amounts of information.

Large scale projects like CEIC's "CHOICES" have received world-wide acclaim. This career exploration system magnifies the potential for the counselling interaction, many college counsellors now work with "CHOICES".

However, the future will bring many other innovations, especially for relatively inexpensive microcomputer systems. The computer will allow us to do better many of the things we already do, and to do those things we have only dreamt of doing. Some of these uses include test administration, scoring and interpretation; student academic tracking; timetabling (especially for those on special timetables); student information storage and retrieval; appointment scheduling; demographic analysis; instruction in areas such as: learning skills; computer-assisted resume writing; career exploration; student financial planning; and even relaxation training, teaching decision making skills, and information-based counselling. (This last one is probably the most threatening to counsellors).

Canadian and American counsellors have developed a clearinghouse to share computer programs related to counselling and other student services areas, called the Software Clearinghouse for Student Services, which has been operating since November 1982.

Counselling administration is an area that has achieved higher profile. Many tasks make up the planning, organizing, promoting, implementing, evaluating, and maintaining of our programs, services and activities. The more we move out of our offices, the greater the need for many of these tasks. Another aspect of administration is articulating counselling to our various constituencies — students, faculty, administrators, members of the community, boards of governors. The need to communicate about counselling never diminishes.

Conclusion

College counselling is on the firing line now. Institutions have asked us "How can you solve our problems? How can you impact on attrition? What assistance can be given to serve new groups of students? How can we improve and further humanize the admission process? How can you help us deal with the changes we are experiencing? In general, how can counselling participate in helping the college to graduate a better worker, better student, and a better person?"

The next few years will at least partly answer these questions. Can our counselling programs, services, and activities make a real difference to our students and institutions? We must look at real changes in student outcomes.

Dr. Brian Desbiens has said, "College counselling has the best seat in the house for the 1980's. Many of the emerging issues and trends seem to converge on counselling". These include: career planning, stress management, study skills, mid-life career changing, accommodating the non-traditional student, evaluating learning styles, student orientation, job clubs, testing and measurement, plant closure programs, assertion training, math anxiety reduction, assistance in the full integration of those with special needs, consultation, job interview skills training, evaluation anxiety reduction and student-teacher conflict resolution. The list is impressive.

Hopefully, community college counsellors in Canada can meet the challenges that face us and achieve our potential to participate as full and equal partners in the educational process in Canadian Community Colleges.

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Beyond Schooling

A British Analysis of Integrated Programmes of Preparation for Adult and Working Life in the United States

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'Tim was so learned that he could name a horse in nine languages; so ignorant that he bought a cow to ride on.'

Benjamin Franklin

Concerns

This document is concerned with school-community links. That concern stems from a sense of both the limitations and potentialities of schools.

On limitations; schooling by itself does not — probably cannot — help young adults adequately to anticipate and prepare for the roles they will be asked to take beyond schooling. I have not attempted to argue that case at any length; it has already been well-argued by others; in Britain particularly by Bazalgette (1971, 1978).

On potentialities; schools are well-placed in our societies to participate in, and to help students to use, the network of resources in neighbourhood and community which can — and do — help young adults adequately to anticipate and prepare for what comes after school-leaving.

Most secondary schools, in both Britain and America, seek to help students competently to anticipate their futures. In Britain specific programmes have many different titles; including 'Careers Education', 'Careers Guidance', 'Personal and Social Education', 'Preparation for Working Life', and 'Life and Social Skills'. Together, they incorporate part of schools' acknowledgement that schooling is not only about the transmission of a 'known' culture, but that it is also about the anticipation of self in an — as yet — 'unknown' future. The term 'preparation for adult and working life' is used here to refer to that diverse, often diffuse, but nonetheless persistent theme of schooling.

Not all schools collaborate with their neighbourhoods and communities in setting up such programmes. Where — in Britain — they do, the programmes have been referred to as 'integrated'.

But integrated programmes, themselves, come in a variety of shapes and sizes, and even integrated programmes do not necessarily involve collaboration between a school and its community. This document — however — uses descriptions of American experience of integration in that sense; of mobilising community resources, sometimes with the school as co-ordinating influence, sometimes with the school as a participating member in a network co-ordinated outside school.

A concern here is to go beyond the descriptions, into an attempt to understand how and why such programmes get viably established, what resists them and why, and how such resistances are met by those seeking to develop the work. I am interested in understanding how the brakes and accelerators work. Doing that involves developing a method for analysing the programmes. The method — described in

the next chapter — is based upon integrated programmes in the British Isles. It was forming in my head before I gathered the information and impression of American programmes set out in this document. My purpose here is to test it, by applying it to parallel programmes in another part of the world. As the reader will see, a result has been that the original analysis has been modified and extended.

The intention throughout is to seek ways of describing, explaining, diagnosing and evaluating integrated programmes of preparation for adult and working life. In that sense, this document is intended to complement the work of people like Bazalgette; by seeing whether and how it is possible for both British and American schools to participate in programmes which use resources beyond schooling to help their students move beyond schooling.

Features

Anyone who has listened to aficionados trying to define what they mean by the term 'jazz' will know what I mean when I say that the language is full of useful words which — nonetheless — defy specific and concrete definition. The vocabulary of education is full of such words.

The term 'integration' is an example. It often refers to the re-arrangement of curriculum, so that formerly separated elements are brought together into a new whole. The intention is that students will learn that the world, which is divided by the boxes on their timetables, is one world. Although the *means* of integration described in this document extend far beyond the re-assembly of existing curriculum materials into new 'subjects'; the *end* in view — of helping our students to find that they live in 'one world' — is, as we shall see, much the same; much the same, that is, but capable of considerable elaboration. Like 'jazz' the term 'integration' may prove most useful because it is capable of accepting a richer, but still recognisable, range of meaning that was ever envisaged when it was first coined.

Specific and concrete definition is, therefore, going to be difficult. But I have tried, below, to identify some of the features of integration as they appear in programmes of preparation for adult and working like.

Among the first usages in Britain of the term 'integrated careers guidance' was a description in *Schools, Careers and Community* (Law and Watts, 1977) of careers work in 'Britewell' School. Britewell used a range of school and neighbourhood resources in order to establish a more diverse basis for preparation for adult and working life than would be possible were the programme left entirely in the hands of

a small number of specialist careers educators. The term 'integration' was used to refer to the establishment of a network of contacts with resources in the school, and resources available to it in its neighbourhood, which were used to pursue objectives of preparation for adult and working life.

A basic feature of an integrated programme of preparation for adult and working life is, then:

1. It is intended that help comes from a *multiplicity of resources* in the school, or available to it.

The range of resources may be relatively *narrow,* by — for example — being restricted to school resources; or it might be relatively *diverse,* by — for example — including neighbourhood resources. At least the beginning of integration is occurring where (say) the geography teacher consciously plans to incorporate some study of the local labour economy into her or his classroom work, with the intention that students should thereby gain some appreciation of what is available to them in the working world. Another integrative activity, and one that employs neighbourhood or community resources, is work experience. The Schools Council Industry Project (SCIP) illustrates the first feature of integration by emphasising an 'across the curriculum' approach to preparation for working life, together with the use in schools of what the project calls 'adults other than teachers'.

A publication of the Department of Education and Science, *Schools and Working Life* (HMSO, 1981) incorporates a number of accounts of programmes showing features of integrated approaches to such work in schools. One of those accounts is of a project in which students and a local firm co-operated in the design and construction of a model leisure complex. A wide range of academic departments in the school were involved, together with the architectural and quantity surveying people in the firm. The project was based on six small teams of students — from the third to the sixth forms — each engaged in one of the project's tasks. Such a programme extends the uses of integration; for we are dealing here not just with multiple resources but with an attempt to put the contribution of each resource in co-ordinated relationship with the rest. A second possible feature of integrated careers guidance programmes is, then:

2. It involves making the contribution of each visible to the whole; so that a *co-ordinated* programme of activity becomes possible.

Reports of the work of SCIP in particular schools (e.g. Marsh, 1981) also illustrate this feature — by making it clear that the successful use of such a multiplicity of resources is

catalysed by the establishment in the schools of 'study groups' the purpose of which was to share impressions of needs, to exchange information, and to suggest possible curriculum initiatives.

The level of co-ordination may be *ad hoc* — relying principally on voluntary offers from partners, and the exchange of information about their initiatives; or it may be *systematic* — relying on careful advanced planning, and the active recruitment of help into a programme designed to have a high degree of cohesiveness and completeness.

Reports of the work of the SCIP study groups also suggest that they not only co-ordinate the resources of a network of contacts in and around the school, but they lead to the possibility of what happens in one part of the network influencing what happens in other parts. Contact between people changes people's minds.

And so the possibility of a third feature of integrated programme hoves into view. It is that:

3. It involves *cross-fertilisation* among partners in the resource network.

The DES publication *Schools and Working Life* further illustrates the feature. One of the schools described arranged for almost all of its teachers to visit at least one local firm for at least half a day. Among the consequences of those contacts was that part of the school's third year science and home economics courses were infused with experimental work, based on processes used in local industries. Another consequence was that a local industrialist — in co-operation with the teachers — was able to rate the relevance of the school's examination courses to the selection criteria of local recruitment managers, with the intention of alerting both the teachers and the managers to the connection between what happens at school and what happens in the labour market. As a result of these discussions the school developed a profiling system for each student — based on knowledge of employers' needs for information about students.

In such a situation the process of cross-fertilisation is *open*; but in other cases participants in the resources network might prefer to remain *closed* against such influences, and — while contributing to the whole — remain unaffected by what is happening elsewhere. (Of course, being open doesn't mean changing everything to suit partners, it means simply being prepared to entertain the possibility that a cross-fertilised idea might be better than a parthenogenetic one!)

The school described in *Schools and Working Life* went further than just allowing itself to be influenced by its contacts with the local labour economy. It was also made clear

to students that there were, scattered throughout the school, teachers who, because they had been on attachments in the working world, were able to act as reference points for information about particular firms and able to set up further contacts for those students in those firms. Furthermore the profiles on students developed in the school were made the subject of discussion with the students they concerned. In both cases a further feature for integration becomes identifiable:

4. It makes the *resources of the network directly accessible to students* in schools.

The feature is further illustrated by part of the City of Coventry's response to the trauma of its labour economy (Temple and Sanday, 1981). The intention is to make schools available to all young adults up to the age of 19; so that the schools' knowledge of provisions in the city can be made available to young adults dealing with the consequences of a severely contracted local labour economy. With the help of the Careers Service, schools have been asked to provide an information and counselling service to young adults — letting them know, for example, where they can find further training or community service opportunities in the city.

Such accessibility may be *proximate* or *distant;* depending on how easy it is for students to reach the 'gates' to the network, or upon how ready they are to use those gates.

One further feature of integration may be identified, illustrated by many of the examples given above; but particularly represented also in the Shannon Project of Interventions for Relevant Adolescent Learning (SPIRAL) in Ireland (SPIRAL, 1980). The SPIRAL project implements a number of features of integration: using neighbourhood visits and placements for young people approaching school leaving age; establishing visibility and co-ordination of that network through local liaison groups; and cross-fertilizing the thinking of schools with the contributions of employers, parents, teachers and others. But a central component in the project's work is the use of people and materials in the school in a planful attempt to help students prepare themselves for, and reflect upon, the experiences that they encounter in their visits and placements. The feature for integration identified by this activity is:

5. That it involves offering students *an active opportunity to prepare themselves for and to reflect upon the experience* which the network of resources affords them.

The feature is illustrated in a wide variety of ways; it has long been argued that such schemes as work experience placements and careers conventions (Americans call them 'career fairs') are seriously weakened in their impact upon

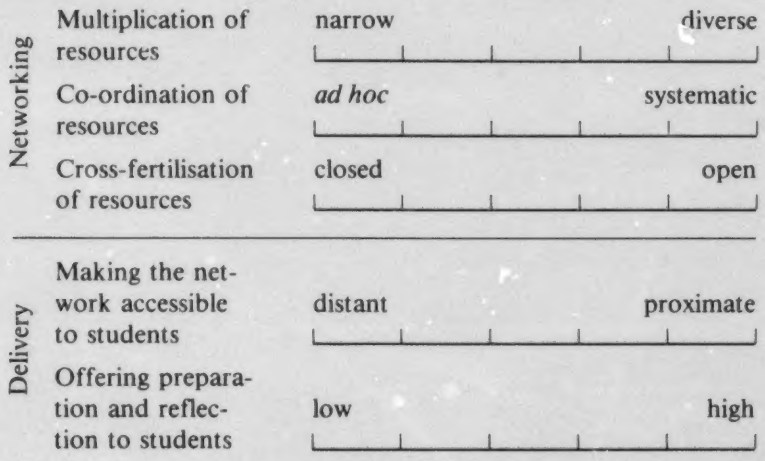
the learning of young people where no opportunity is given to students to anticipate what they want from such experiences, or to follow them up with opportunities to identify what they have gained from them.

The level of preparation and reflection afforded to students may be *low* or *high*; depending upon the amount of time and energy that is invested in them, the quality of the materials and resources which support them, and the level of participation which is permitted to students in their use.

The identification of these five features of integrated programmes in the British Isles makes possible a descriptive profile of integration for any programme of preparation for adult and working life in any school. Figure 1 sets it out.

FIGURE 1

Profiles of Integration



The five features can be sub-divided into two clusters of activity; those concerning *networking resources* and those concerning *delivering resources.*

Together they bear the same kind of relationship to the term 'integration' as features of 'syncopation', 'extemporisation' and 'voicing' bear to the term 'jazz'; they are not sufficient, necessary nor even exclusive to it. But they do help the 'hip' to know where it's at!

Programmes

Although integration is hard to define, its features are not so hard to recognise. The programmes of preparation for adult and working life described below have been selected because they seem to have such features. They range from local and

piece-meal initiatives to broadly-conceived nationwide programmes.

This section is restricted to describing the main features of the programmes and how they are supported. Further explanation, analysis and comment on the programmes appear in later sections.

Community Involved Placement for Educational Development (CIPED)

All students in the last 3 years of secondary schooling at South Brunswick High School, New Jersey, spend one day each week on year-long placements in employers' premises, social service agencies or outdoor (such as nature conservancy) programmes. CIPED is unique to the school, and was developed there without outside consultation or funding. The programme is run by a team of specially-appointed full-time co-ordinators whose work is to locate usable sites for placement, and to link students with them in a 3-year sequence of placements. In collaboration with the school counsellors, the co-ordinators use class time one day each week during the first 6 months at High School to prepare students for their involvement in placements. Individualised programmes of placement are then designed. They are developmentally arranged; characteristically beginning with opportunities to participate in outdoor pursuits, and ending with career-related placements. Students earn school-leaving qualifications from such placements, although no attempt is made to rate the quality of their performance on the sites or their learning from them; credits are awarded solely on satisfactory attendance.

The Parkway Project and City-as-School

Activities. A group of Philadelphia high school students visit senior citizens' homes and listen to eye-witness accounts of how those people were involved in the stories of immigration into the United States, the second world war and the development of labour unions. A Philadelphia photographer designs a course in photography for a handful of high school youngsters who come not only to listen to how its done, but to see where — and with whom — it is done. Voluntary community workers in the city conduct group discussions with high school students in their offices and consulting rooms on such topics as planned parenthood and drug abuse. A Philadelphia bank offers a course in its own premises on Real Estate. Students in the programme also learn from time spent in hospitals, university offices, workshops and a number of cultural institutions.

All these opportunities were, for a time, available to students enrolled in Philadelphia's Parkway Project; a high school with no traditional school buildings which once offered more than half its curriculum by using such community resources.

Students on the Parkway Project gain school-leaving qualifications from their participation in the programme. Some students achieved high school graduation in 3 years.

City-as-School (CaS) in New York, acknowledges its debt to the Parkway Project. Like the Parkway Project, CaS uses the community as a resource for transmitting the known culture of American society. But, also like Parkway, the use of community resources incorporates rich opportunities for each student to anticipate and prepare for his or her own participation in adult and working life.

Students at the school help to run a riding academy, prepare exhibitions for museums, help at the Federal Trades Commission, work with artists and craftsmen in their studios, accompany politicians in their handling of constituency problems, work backstage and front-of-house on off-Broadway theatre groups, help on one of Brooklyn's weekly newspapers, attend classes (free of charge) in one of New York's higher education campuses, and act as assistant registrars to CaS — helping newcomers find their feet.

It is estimated that around 95% of the learning experiences offered to CaS students is offered by the 400 community-based 'resources' listed in its catalogue. Students attend a resource for 9 or 18 weeks. Completion sometimes involves evening and weekend work — by students and their teachers.

Students at CaS earn school-leaving qualifications from participation in the programme. No grades are awarded; a student either receives credit or no credit for the general satisfactoriness of the completion of each placement. Credits might be awarded in English or basic composition; but they might also be awarded in journalism or tv production; the credit might be in American Studies, but it might be achieved by accompanying a congressman to find out how he serves his constituency. The credit might be in social studies, but it might be achieved by helping to build a replica of a colonial sawmill at the Richmond Restoration on Staten Island. Students log their participation in the cycles, write reports for consideration by student advisors in school, and are assessed by people they meet in their community placements. Decisions about credits are then made in the school on the basis of this evidence.

Support. The Parkway Project was the brain child of Clifford Brenner an official of the Philadelphia School Board

whose office, in 1969, looked out on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway — a mile-long boulevard lined with most of the city's museums, art galleries and cultural institutions. The original conception was of such a resource as a substitute for a school campus.

The project is sited in five different units scattered throughout the city, much of the space is donated free-of-rent by the community. Each unit provides a base for 200 students, and office space for the 10 teachers and leader assigned to them. Additional classroom space is available on other sites. At the peak of its community involvement between 70 and 80% of classroom space was donated by the community.

The *staff teachers* divide their time between four activities:

1. *classroom teaching work* (which, typically, includes work on basic skills and background discussion, and guidance for reading, concerning placements);
2. *student counselling* (which typically pays attention to the individualised use that students are able to make of their placements);
3. *administrative work* (which includes the tasks of identifying and developing placement sites for students to use); and
4. *tutorial work* which provides a developed 'home room' base for groups of between 15 and 19 students from 9th to 12th grade. Tutor groups meet twice each week and incorporate opportunities to evaluate past progress, and select further courses of study — paying attention to needed courses for school-leaving qualification.

This work of staff teachers is interweaved with the work of voluntary and unpaid *community teachers,* like the senior citizens and the photographer mentioned earlier. The selection and support of such community teachers is regarded as critical; and staff teachers spend time helping them to develop their material and to adequately present it to the students.

In CaS, what the Parkway Project calls staff teachers have two distinct roles occupied by different members of staff. *Resource co-ordinators:*

1. identify community based 'resources';
2. work with members of the community to convince them of the value of their contribution to the rising generation's education;
3. help them to develop curricula and learning strategies for the students;

4. link students to those resources in individual planning; and
5. monitor students' progress through the programme.

There is a strong insistence from CaS that the resources are obligated to help the students learn something and not just use them as a source of free labour.

The work of *student advisors* is to:

6. select students for the CaS programme;
7. set up orientation programmes for new students;
8. set up subject seminars for existing students;
9. maintain individualised records on students' progress through the programme; and
10. offer counselling and guidance to assist students make good use of the programme.

What the Parkway Project calls 'community teachers' are designated *'community resource people'* at CaS. CaS insists that community resource people are in sympathy with the philosophy of the programme and that they must be prepared to work with resource co-ordinators on the development of an adequate programme of learning experiences. There is also an awareness, in selecting community resource people, that they will not only be sources of knowledge and information to the students, but may also become role-models.

The concept of community resources for learning is assiduously held to at CaS. Before entering the school a student must have completed two years of maths and science at high school, because those subjects are most difficult to duplicate in the network.

Co-operative Education

Activities. Co-operative Education (CE) in the United States includes provisions for work by secondary school students in distributive, health, agriculture, business, home economic and industrial occupations. In many ways it most closely parallels British sandwich courses. Among the similarities are the facts that CE places students in vocational training for work requiring performance at some qualified level of skill, and students are paid by employers for the work they do while on such placements. But there are differences: among them the fact that the American programmes pay attention to aspects of educational, vocational and personal guidance as well as to vocational training; this, and the fact that CE is a feature of secondary school provision as well as further and higher education provision, give it some parallels with British work experience programmes. They are included, therefore, in that cluster of schooling activities here call-

ed programmes of preparation for adult and working life.

There are two types of CE programme at secondary level. The 'Capstone' programme gives a student a year-long programme of industrial experience, during the last two years of high school, at the place in her or his timetable which would otherwise have been occupied by some related class study based in school. Students may spend up to one half of each school day on such attachments. It is linked to a special school-based programme of group preparation and follow-up, a particular focus of the approach is to examine the consequences for work processes of new technology and equipment which may not be available in the school. The 'Diversified Occupations' programme, which may occupy up to 2 years of part-time placements, is not usually accompanied by school-based group preparation and follow-up; the principal purpose of the programme being to bring students to a job-entry level of competence in its skills, and to provide them with a range of occupational experiences as a basis for personal choice. Any preparation and follow-up available in school will, therefore, be individual.

There are variations on the CE theme, extending to 3-4 year programmes for potential drop-outs, 1-2 year programmes for socially disadvantaged or physically handicapped students, and sheltered programmes for emotionally and psychologically vulnerable students.

Support. The history of CE in the US dates from 1906, when the University of Cincinnati arranged for engineering students to gain practical experience in industry by placing them with employers, before graduation. In the 1960's federal funding, which has since been withdrawn, fostered considerable growth in programmes of CE, particularly at the secondary level.

While most American high schools now incorporate some kind of off-site work-study element into their programmes, a characterising feature of CE is its design feature of central co-ordination. The Division of Occupational and Vocational Studies at Pennsylvania State University recommends that each of the 600 or so participating schools in the State appoints at least one co-ordinator; and that each co-ordinator is released for 30 minutes each week for each student on the programme. A co-ordinator with 60 students on a programme could be involved in the work full-time. Some schools have more than one co-ordinator. The work of *co-ordinators* is very broadly conceived. It includes:

1. survey community and students' needs;
2. establish and run an advisory committee (with represen-

tatives from all interested groups in the education service and the community);

3. identify and negotiate suitable placement sites;
4. select students for the programme;
5. counsel them at various stages through the programme;
6. carry out the logistical and administrative tasks of linking students to placements;
7. teach some of the school-based courses supporting the programme (particularly on such personal and social work-life topics as dealing with supervision and negotiating a salary increase);
8. evaluate student performance in the programme, and the performance of the programme as a whole; and
9. (very importantly in the conception of the role used at Penn State) engage in a thorough public relations job on behalf of the programme — with the school, labour unions, parents, employers and any other audiences that might be thought to have an interest in its work or an influence on its survival.

Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE)

Activities. In schools all over the United States senior high school students are spending something like a day a week in programmes which take them into out-of-school settings, from which it is intended they will learn something of use to them in their career development. For example in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Olney High School has developed such a programme in collaboration with an organisation called 'Research for Better Schools'. The school has identified forty-six sites, spread across 17 clusters of occupations in a catalogue — ranging from 'Allied Health' and 'Animal Resources', through 'Construction' and 'Law and Justice', to 'Trades' and 'Transportation'. Under the entry headed 'Continuing Education' students find an opportunity to spend three days at Pierce Junior College where they are given a chance to find out something about the college's two-year programmes, and also to learn something about the work of the admissions office, registrar's office, the placement service section and other activities of the college. They spend some of their time touring, some listening to presentations, some discussing problems encountered by the various offices of the college, and some participating in round-table discussion with students at the college. Here, as elsewhere in the catalogue, clear reference is made to the requirements of the site regarding such matters as behaviour and dress. And it is hard to imagine how visitors to such a site can avoid

absorbing these, and many of the other formal and informal cues which cannot be adequately conveyed except through being there; and yet which contribute significantly to the acceptability to and of an envisaged working and living environment.

Support. Research for Better Schools (RBS) in Philadelphia is one of four regional educational laboratories mandated by the National Institute of Education in Washington to develop EBCE concepts and practices. The others are the Appalachia Educational Laboratory in West Virginia, the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in California, and the North West Regional Educational Laboratory in Oregon. All four laboratories are seeking to develop the concept of EBCE as an individualised use of community resources for facilitating career development; and all four are developing the procedures and materials needed to implement such programmes.

The EBCE model developed at RBS has four *programme components:*

1. exploratory use of community sites by groups of students on mini-courses;
2. specialist use of community sites for in-depth project work by individual students;
3. career guidance in small groups on such issues as decision-making; and
4. academic resource centres in which programmed learning is offered in basic skills of numeracy and literacy.

Students earn school-leaving qualifications from their participation in the programme, but in order to gain them they must show evidence of career development, and benefit from career guidance as well as basic skill development.

RBS first tested its model for EBCE in a Philadelphia private school. The model was later adopted by a Philadelphia public school where, for a time, RBS staffed the operation. RBS now disseminates information about EBCE throughout the mid-Atlantic states. Where schools respond, RBS first consults with the school on the concepts and practices of the programme, drawing particular attention to its resource implications for the school. At the implementation stage RBS works with school staff assigned to the programme helping them to relate its components to their objectives.

Education-Work Councils

Activities. In Oakland, California a group of local people survey 138 different groups offering career education ser-

vices but having little co-ordination with each other. The group prepare a directory and distribute it throughout the community. Another group in Enfield, Connecticut survey the interests and aspirations of high school students. School superintendents use the results to draft a proposed strategy for career and vocational education in their districts' schools. A group in Buffalo, New York initiate a long-term project to collect and disseminate co-ordinated information on educational and vocational opportunities and labour economic trends in the city. In Erie, Pennsylvania a local group has investigated local labour laws which have made employers cautious about employing young workers. They have published a guide which includes information on the law's requirements, as well as on wage rates and terms of employment offered to young workers, and where and how young workers can be recruited.

Such groups have raised material resources for their activities from membership dues, fees earned from services offered in the community, tax allocations from local governments, grants from federal and state funds, corporate donations, foundation grants and the rent-free donation of working spaces and materials.

Some, like the one in Bayamon, Puerto Rico have offered seminars on occupational counselling for high school teachers and counsellors, together with a series of exchanges between teachers and business people on how business and industry contribute to the school-to-work transition. In Bridgeport, Connecticut the group has enlisted the help of 25 companies in an eight-week programme to help 30 counsellors, school administrators and teachers understand work opportunities and requirements in the area. Many such opportunities were found to be capable of development as experience-based learning sites with which schools might collaborate. A group in Worcester, Massachusetts is working out the details of a policy to provide every high school student with an experience-based learning opportunity.

The group in Worcester comprises school superintendents, the chief executive of city government, the manager of a paper mill, a Chamber of Commerce member, a member of the city council, owners of small businesses, an official from one of the area's largest factories, a priest, the Director of Social Services, an official of the Teamsters' Union, and an official of the municipal employee's union. This group, like all the others mentioned above, are generically referred to as Education-Work Councils (EWCs). Memberships range between 25 and 60 persons.

Such councils do not restrict themselves to the interests of the school-to-work transition. Some are also interested in

working on problems associated with helping workers whose skills have become obsolete, women seeking to re-enter the workforce, and elderly people who need to supplement pensions.

Support. The concept of EWC is argued in a book prepared, in consultation with others, by Willard Wirtz — *The Boundless Resource* (Wirtz, 1975). His conception was of EWCs which 'relying on local community initiative, would ferry people and ideas across the gap between education and employment and at the same time infuse the coming-of-age process with knowledge and experience available from the broader community.' He envisaged that EWCs would typically comprise teachers and administrators, employers, representatives of organised labour, representatives of manpower agencies, parents, civic leaders and students. He proposed an *outline agenda* for consideration by such councils. It included:

1. the attempt to identify manpower needs and career prospects in communities;
2. the rigorous examination of the separation between the guidance (allocating) role of Employment Services and the counselling (helping) role of school counselling services, and the attempt to clarify and place such institutional responsibilities;
3. the infusion of school curriculums with material taken from the community's knowledge of its own working life;
4. the identification, development and synthesis of a variety of experience-based learning opportunities for school students;
5. the rigorous examination of the rationale for, and provision of, a 'considered break' as a stepping stone for students between high school-leaving and employment or re-entry to full-time education; and
6. (perhaps most basically) 'removing barriers' between the worlds of schooling and working which, he argued, had 'gotten out of kilter' — for example on the issue of the relevance of school-leaving qualifications to the world of work.

The National Institute for Work and Learning (NIWL), in Washington DC, was formerly the National Manpower Institute. The institute was first established by a group of business leaders, academic administrators and others seeking to bridge the gap between education and work. Wirtz is currently Chairman to NIWL's Board of Trustees. Part of the

institute's varied programme of activities now includes involvement in EWCs.

The involvement dates back to 1976 when NIWL received funding from the US Department of Labor for a five-year project to assist in the development of state and local councils. Existing initiatives were surveyed by NIWL staff and a diverse group of 32 councils were selected for inclusion in the project. The *project* helped in three main ways:

1. it provided technical assistance in the form of consultation and workshops;
2. it cross-fertilised the activities of the groups by publishing a twice-monthly *Work-Education Bulletin* and by holding regional and national conferences; and
3. it was able to allocate federal money to councils so that full-time executive staff could be employed by them.

The project led to the formation, in 1979, of the National Work-Education Consortium which recruits individual and council membership. NIWL sponsors the consortium and maintains the kinds of assistance developed by the original project, although it is not now able to offer financial assistance. It has, however, developed a programme of enquiry into the work, problems and facilitation of councils which is being published in a series of documents including:

4. a review of the literature;
5. a directory of councils;
6. a handbook and state-of-the-art report.

It is, of course, very tempting to assign such outfits as South Brunswick High School, City-as-School, Olney High School and the Oakland Education-Work Council to positions on the profile in Figure 1 on page 9. Each programme is concerned with one or more of the features of integration identified there.

Some, like the Oakland Education Work Council, may prove to be more concerned with the *networking* operations of achieving a multiplicity of resources, co-ordinating them and getting some cross-fertilisation running between them.

Others, like Olney High School, may prove to be deeper into *delivering* those resources to students, by making them accessible to students and by providing students with adequate opportunities to prepare themselves for and reflect upon the experience which such networks afford.

Some, like City-as-School, appear to be working on tasks associated with *both* clusters of features.

My concern here is not to give the programmes carefully graded rounds of applause for their work; but to try to understand how such programmes become possible as educa-

tional innovations; and — in particular — to understand what resists them.

So that is where we turn next.

Resistances

The innovative process is never plain sailing; it is, perhaps, less plain on the sea of schooling than elsewhere.

Some mapping of the hazards has been done; for example in Fullan's (1972) analyses of the most commonly-reported problems accounting for the failure of educational innovation in western cultures such as the UK and the US.

Figure 2 sets out some of the correspondences between those analyses and features of integrated programmes described here. The correspondences are, of course, not exact; nor are they exhaustive of all possible resistances to integration.

FIGURE 2

Resistances to features of integration

	Feature	*Commonly-reported problems for educational innovation*
Networking	Multiplication of resources	unsuccessful competition for resources
	Co-ordination of resources	abuses of influence
	Cross-fertilisation of resources	narrow visions
Delivery	Making the network accessible to students	lack of concreteness in suggested innovation
	Offering preparation and reflection to students	

Competition for Resources

Part of Fullan's diagnosis of innovative failure comes from evidence that innovation calls upon considerable additional commitments of time and materials in planning, developing and resourcing programmes; and that 'any organisation requires some resource slack as part and parcel of its ongoing activities if it is to be innovative'. Initiating or pump-priming commitment is, moreover, insufficient; programmes run into residual and unanticipated problems requiring supportive follow-up for some time after the innovation has been made. Investment at the initiating or follow-up has not always been

equal to the demands of the task. And, both in the UK and the US, cut-backs in public expenditure are not making life any easier.

Abuses of Influence

Another part of Fullan's diagnosis of failure is to be found in the extent to which innovations have left users of innovation 'as dependent on the process instead of the process being dependent on them'. Fullan identifies two ways in which users of innovation may be rendered helpless. In what he calls 'top-down' innovation they are assumed to be helpless by the handing down of ready-made packages which are thought to be beyond improvement by the suggestions and modifications of the users. In what he calls 'permissive' innovation users are rendered helpless by a failure to provide sufficient guidelines concerning the possibility for their participation. In neither case are users offered an opportunity to gain leverage on the idea of the innovation and how it might be implemented in their particular situation, and with their resources. As one informant to this present study observed 'we do little to help teachers get beyond or behind the principles — or principals — which govern their work; they feel powerless.'

Narrow Visions

A number of informants in the present study have — in a variety of contexts — referred to what one called the 'tunnel vision' syndrome. It refers to repeated observations of the fact that people will generally prefer to stay inside the perspectives with which they have become familiar — particularly in changing, stressful or threatening circumstances. The inability or unwillingness to step outside conventional professional perspectives is institutionalised — according to a number of informants — by American teaching unions, who are on record as opposing some of the programmes on the grounds that they will undermine the position of teachers in society or that they involve disturbance to previously agreed lines of accountability and control. Innovation is resisted by habitual thinking habits; as Fullan records, innovation sometimes involves unlearning, as well as learning.

Lack of Concreteness

Fullan's battery of diagnoses includes the suggestion that innovations sometimes fail to say in the detail of roles and operations how the innovation is to be implemented. As one informant in this study observed; 'the first question that a teacher will often ask following the presentation of ideas in a new state or school district policy is "tell me what I have got to do?"'. It may be a too-narrow response; but it

acknowledges the fact that good ideas are not enough — they must be made operational. While Fullan does not advocate a prescriptive telling-them-exactly-what-to-do-model for innovative action in schools, he does point out that the innovation needs to be related to 'an elaborate existing system of relationships to other roles, expectations, rules, and forms of organisation'. Effective innovation must not leave potential users in a sink-or-swim situation with a mere idea, with no practical guidelines about how to keep both themselves and the idea afloat, and no attempt to follow-up on its initial or pilot implementation.

Responses to problems among the projects — considered in the next section — identify two other possible resistances to integrative innovation. They are the problems of promoting a credible understanding of the ideas and principles embodied in innovation; and of achieving a continuing implementation of the innovation — beyond the first flush of enthusiasm — as a development.

Failure to Achieve Credible Understandings

In his analysis of attempt at diagnoses for the failure of educational innovation, Fullan drew attention to evidence that the users of innovations frequently did not understand the ideas and principles underlying what was being proposed, so that they could not explain in any specific way the key aspect of the innovation. Fullan attributes this failure to a lack of preparatory opportunity given to the users to react to what is being suggested and to examine its meaning for their work. But the roots of the problem may reach deeper than that. It is worth remembering that we are dealing with the need to communicate knowledge and understanding in organisations whose stock-in-trade is knowledge and understanding: teachers are supposed to 'know'. It may be extremely difficult for a teacher to admit that he or she cannot understand the ideas and principles underlying what is being proposed. We have, moreover, both in the UK and the US, bred cohorts of teachers who can justifiably claim to be heartily sick of innovation in education. The 'Oh-my-God-not-another-innovation' syndrome has had every chance to take root in the psychology of the profession; and it is exacerbated by what one informant in the US characterised as 'instant experts with no more authority than sellers of snake oil'. Teachers may well be unwilling to be taken back to 'ground zero' yet again; to discard what they have been doing in order to adopt what yet another (self-styled) 'expert' is telling them they must do.

Unreadiness to Implement

In a later attempt to disentangle problems for the implementation of education innovations, Fullan and a colleague (Fullan and Pomfret, 1977) point out that — in describing innovation — implementation is best understood as being quite distinct from adoptions and outcomes. They complain that 'there is a singular lack of curiosity about what happened to an innovation between the time it was designed and various people agreed to carry it out, and the time that the consequences became evident. Once an innovation was planned and adopted, interest tended to shift toward the monitoring of outcomes.' But the shift from drawing board to classroom is a problem. There is a great deal to understand about how people change, over time, their ways of behaving in their roles in the innovative process.

Figure 3 sets out the relationships between the features of integration, possible resistances to innovation which may be

FIGURE 3

Features, Resistances and Responses for Integrative Innovation

	Features	*Resistances*	*Responses*
	All	Failure to achieve credible understandings	Rationales
NETWORKING	Multiplication of resources	Competition for resources	Results
NETWORKING	Co-ordination of resources	Abuses of influence	Influences
NETWORKING	Cross-fertilisation of resources	Narrow visions	Diversifications
DELIVERY	Making the network accessible to students	Lack of concreteness in suggested innovation	Actions
DELIVERY	Offering preparation and reflection to students		
	All	Unreadiness to implement	Developments

associated with those features, and the characterisation given in the next section to ways in which the programmes have responded to those resistances.

The universe is, of course, not nearly as tidy as analysts need it to be in order to begin talking about it. The linkages and barriers between causes and effects, occasions and responses, are subtle and overlapping. I hope that the reader will notice that some of the report and comment in the ensuing sections could have been assembled under other headings: and I make no apology for it; the analysis should not be so much tidier than the reality! That which reality joins together, analysis should not put asunder!

Report and Interpolation

Each of the ensuing sections begins with some attempt to analytically report what participants in the programmes are thinking and doing about each of the issues raised. But each section also incorporates an attempt to infuse new ideas into the discussion; the purpose being to see to what extent those ideas can interpret the experience and point possible ways forward. In order to clearly mark the differences between report and interpolation I have reduced the type size of the interpolation sections, like this.

Rationales

When innovation peters out, it is sometimes, Fullan demonstrates, because the people invited to adopt the innovative idea have not been given sufficient opportunity to grasp the ideas and principles underpinning it; or — indeed — that they have grasped them but give them no credibility. American arguments underpinning integrative programmes is set out here in two sections: 1. concerning *networking* resources; and 2. concerning *delivering* experience-based learning opportunities to students.

Arguments for Collaborative Networks

'A good deal of the American achievement traces in one way or another to the development of Education and Work as coordinate forces'; so begins Wirtz (1975) in the development of his major premise. It is a variation on an integrated 'one world' theme; this variation arguing that the worlds of work and schooling, are — at root — part of a single enterprise. Any separation between them is unnecessarily and destructively arbitrary; for 'virtually every community in the country has an untapped reservoir of personnel and information that could make both vocational guidance and job placement effective for young people'.

The minor premise of the argument is that American society has permitted arbitrary separations between schooling and work to occur. There is an arbitrary institutional separation, identified by the phrase 'the gap between the schoolroom and the job', and referring to the fact that what is talked about in schools bears little relevance to what is happening in the world of work — particularly, a world of work staggering under the impact of technological, social and economic change.

Wirtz also identifies an arbitrary temporal separation between schooling and work; for, he argues, we have put 'life into three time-traps — education, then work, then obsolescence ... a human convention that became reality because it first became custom'. While once arguably necessary, the separation of education and work into socially-defined phases has become 'a frustrating and expensive anachronism'. Much of Wirtz' argument for the reintegration of work and learning is in pursuit of programmes of what the British are now calling 'return and learn' schemes.

But the main conclusion of such argument is — says Wirtz — for the establishment, not so much of particular programmes, but for a genuinely school and work collaborative process whereby all kinds of programmes might be developed. The distinction between 'collaboration' and 'co-operation' is significant. The term co-operation readily lends itself to programme development in which objectives are defined by one partner, and help in the pursuit of the objectives is sought from another — unequal — partner. Previous co-operative attempts to bridge the gap, exemplified by efforts to expand school curricula to take more account of the world of work, failed — argues Wirtz — because they have been largely left in the hands of the schools; 'such bridges cannot be built only from one side'. The concept of collaboration, by contrast, requires that all partners in the programmes participate together in the identification of needs, the definition of objectives, the marshalling of resources, the management of implementation, and the evaluation of outcomes.

Arguments for Individualised Experience-Based Learning Opportunities

The argument is not, however, just for curriculum development by teachers in collaboration with the community; it is also that young adults in high schools should, themselves, be given direct access to, and an opportunity actively to learn from, that network of community contacts.

Career development theory has provided one of the springboards for the development of experience-based

careers education; the pursuit of opportunities for students, at the 'exploration' stage, to find a sufficiently broad and penetrating experience of the adult world. In 1971 Sidney Marland, at that time US Commissioner of Education, argued that such exploratory programmes should be infused into school curricula, with the title 'career education'. He identified three arenas in which such exploration might occur — the home, the school and the community. But in order that such programmes achieve sufficient breadth and penetration, the use of the community as a learning resource became a priority.

In direct response to this argument, Research for Better Schools, and three other regional laboratories, were selected by the National Institute of Education in Washington to develop the EBCE concept into operational possibilities.

At RBS the conception of students' needs for experience at the exploratory stage has undergone further elaboration. The focus for thinking is upon the need to help high school students to escape from a time-perspective bounded only by what is happening in the present; to help them to understand that what is happening here and now is related to what comes later, that there are connections between life as a person at high school and life as a person in the 'world of work'. It is another integrated 'one world' argument, the unification here being in the experience of the individual student.

Experience-based learning at the exploratory stage thus becomes what might be called 'education now for the anticipation of possible selves in possible futures'. The objective is to stretch the time-perspective of the student so that it encompasses anticipated and desired life events. Such extensions of perspective cannot be realistically achieved within the tightly-bounded framework of conventional curricula considered in school rooms. To summarise the argument: there is not much that can be learned about being there by sitting here. The rationale for EBCE is, therefore, for high school students to be able to go and find for themselves from what stuff their future lives are to be forged. As one community resource person in a politician's office used by City-as-School remarked of one of the students, 'When she leaves she'll know a lot more about how laws are made than someone just reading a textbook.'

Closely linked, in thinking at RBS, with the need to help students at the exploration stage to extend their timeline is the need to help students achieve a more informed and effective sense of their own motivations. It is a sense of the need to help students escape from infantile and unconsidered action — what one member of the organisation referred to as

the 'pleasure-pain principle'. Choosing and making a future, it may be argued, is worth negotiating at a level somewhere above that of the kneejerk. And so, at RBS, thought has been invested in identifying ways in which students can be invited to consider how 'work' roles influence and are influenced by attitudes to other life roles; how attitudes crystallised into stereotypic behaviour may entrap them (and others); and how no one (however disabled or deprived) is exempt from the consequences of not accepting responsibility for what he or she does.

There is, particularly in the Parkway Project, an understanding that if students are to achieve the benefits of experience-based approaches to learning, then that learning must be individualised. It is, therefore, part of its rationale that money saved on plant and equipment should be spent on an improved teacher-student ratio. Each individual student approaches learning from a highly idiosyncratic predisposition of needs, motives, interests and values. The work of the teachers is to build a programme of experience which idiosyncratically responds to a particular student's needs — and where the appropriate resource is not already on file (or so at least argues the rhetoric) to go out and find it.

Unpacking the Rationale

The arguments are of the 'we need ... therefore we must ...' type: 'we need to dismantle arbitrary separations between work and learning, therefore we must establish re-integrative programmes of collaboration between schools and communities'; 'we need students to be able fully to anticipate possible selves in possible futures, therefore we must have programmes where our youngsters can go and see for themselves'.

But the credibility of such arguments is notoriously vulnerable; for they positively invite a 'sez you!' retort which may run: 'That's what *you* say; what *we* say is that schools are about the maintenance of oases of cultural excellence in deserts of cultural mediocrity; and the *last* thing that schools must do is to allow their deep and pure wells to be contaminated by allowing he or she who will to trample in and out of school's preciously-maintained territories. Students and society at large need schools to maintain their curricula intact; because if *schools* do not transmit to our young some special and unsullied sense of what is valuable, fine and excellent, who will?'

Talks about 'needs' if often invested with such high-sounding rhetoric. It leaves the curious eavesdropper wondering how people can get themselves so polarised on an issue as universal and (apparently) irreducable as that of 'needs'. The reason is, sometimes, that when people talk about what society or students need, they are covertly talking about what they value for themselves. Projection sometimes postures as empathy.

My own research (Law, 1977; 1978) suggests that the way in which guidance and counselling work is done in school is dependent, in part, upon personality-related and value-laden attitudes of

the people doing the work. Some prefer to work through the existing structures, and to remain loyal to current objectives, of schooling. They are high on 'system orientation', emphasising *connections* with the school's present way of working. Others prefer to achieve roles which are in some independence of the existing procedures and beliefs of the school. They are low on 'system orientation', emphasising the wish to find *alternative* ways of working to those that the school is currently offering.

People who are looking for alternatives are likely to resort to a different use of rhetoric: 'But by bringing in employers, labour unionists and all those other "worthies" you are bringing in exactly the people who are *not* providing alternatives for possible selves in possible futures. By establishing those kinds of links you are strengthening the very coalition of bureaucratic powers which is taking us deeper into the existing system, not showing us alternatives to it. There *are* alternative lifestyles available to our youngsters — but you won't find them in a coalition of the school, the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Council or the Department of Social Services!'

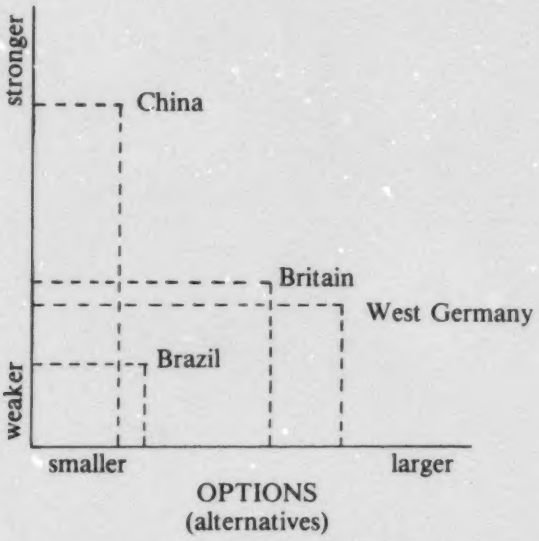
Or so runs the rhetoric. There is, however, a rationale which visualises possible selves in possible futures by assigning equal importance to connections *and* alternatives. Dahrendorf (1979) has provided the frame; he calls connections 'ligatures', and he calls alternatives 'options'. Both, he argues, are essential to the achievement of possible selves in possible futures — which he calls 'life chances'.

> *Ligatures* maintain continuities, they fasten people to the more-or-less permanent structures of their experience — nation and history, community and generation, family and its social constructions. Much of this is — it happens — the stuff of which school curriculum is made. Curriculum is a major means by which we bind our peoples to their societies. So — it might be added — is work; or, at least, paid employment. Such connections, made both inside and outside school, are — claims Dahrendorf — strong in China and Britain; among traditional working class and traditional upper class people; for monks and for kings. They are weak, he claims, in Brazil and West Germany; among 'modern youth' and the new middle classes; for drug addicts and pop stars.
>
> While ligatures fasten people in their social space and time, *options* create variations from such structures. While ligatures are relatively easy to describe in concrete terms, options may not be; for they reside as much in the potential and imagined, or — at least — in the incipient and emergent, as in the actual and observable. Conditions for their emergence may, however, be described; such as the provisions of sufficient levels of security and participation to make such creative outflow possible. Such alternatives are large, claims Dahrendorf, in Britain and West Germany; among the traditional upper class and the new middle class; for kings and pop stars. They are small in China and Brazil; among the traditional working class and modern youth; for monks and drug addicts.

Both ligatures and options, argues Dahrendorf, are necessary to improved life chances. Where either connections or alternatives are reduced, life chances are reduced; as Figure 4 (taken from Dahrendorf) graphically models.

FIGURE 4

Life Chances: Example on a System of Co-ordinates



Connections and alternatives increase the total area of life chances available to an individual; as a field is increased in area by both its length and breadth. Neither is sufficient; both are necessary. People with the greatest life chances are people who *both* have strong connections *and* can imagine or recognise varied alternatives.

Can what binds us to the present and the past really help us prepare for rapid social, economic and technological change in the future? Is, for example, school curriculum relevant in any sense beyond a means of getting school-leaving qualifications? An analysis like that of Dahrendorf says 'yes!' or, at least, 'yes, where what is in curriculum is given a second dimension by bringing it into contact with the range of alternative uses to which it can be put.' I have tried to argue elsewhere (Law, 1981b) that there is not a subject on secondary school curriculum which is incapable of being used by people with no prospect of paid employment to meet at least some of their practical, social, psychological and aesthetic needs. The accumulated cultures in our curricula is not a write-off, and they need not be restrictive.

They become restrictive only where they are used for one insulated purpose — like as an obstacle race for school-leaving qualifications. Any restriction is not in school curriculum, but in the unimaginative purposes to which it is put. Nobody is arguing that school curriculum is beyond the possibility of improvement; but, even in its present forms, it is capable of many more applications than are currently imagined from inside many a British and American school. As part of a network of resources of preparation

for adult and working life, a great many more of those applications might be found.

An 'alternative-uses' dimension can probably be put on most of the connections that bind us to our places in our societies. Think of the extent to which such connections as 'family', 'community', 'work' and 'curriculum' have been allowed — in our recent histories — to be restricted in the uses which we make of them. There is more potentiality in our connections than our societies have currently learned to tap.

And what of alternatives? Is having alternatives inevitably liberating? On an analysis like Dahrendorf's the answer is, paradoxically, going to be 'not necessarily!' Actually having a great many alternatives can be paralysing — as Fullan's previously-quoted example of the helpless condition of users of innovation in a wholly 'permissive' relationship with the innovation may illustrate. In order to be of use, alternatives need to be talked of in the same breath as established connections. In times of low levels of paid employment, alternative 'economies' are proposed — such as household-based, commune-based, co-operative-based, bartering, voluntary work, free-wheeling, 'black' or 'grey', self-employment and so on. At first sight they often look like attractive and viable options. The problem arises where they are offered in isolation from the alliances, responsibilities, values and traditions of people's experience; all that has steadied and nourished them, and which has bound them — psychologically, socially, morally, and spiritually — as members of society. When I learn to *speak in one sentence* of what connects me to society, and the alternative uses I can make of those connections — then I will begin to see possible selves in possible futures.

It seems likely that people individually differ with regard to importance each attaches to connections and alternatives. Some youngsters at school will need more help with one than with the other. Certainly teachers and other helpers differ — as my own research on high and low system orientation of counsellors suggests — and as the rhetorics characterised above illustrate.

But both 'sez you' retorts have a valid core. On Dahrendorf's analysis we need both connections and alternatives; and we need to be able to work with both — in 'one world' programmes of preparation for adult and working life.

Figure 5 sets it out by posing some of the questions that it requires answered. Answers on the left may appeal to those of high system orientation, on the right to those of low system orientation.

In such programmes there is necessity for both the high and the low system oriented — for the rationale for integration is broader than either rhetoric can encompass.

It gives the term 'integration' yet another shade of meaning — the integration into 'one world' programmes of both *connections* and *alternatives;* an issue on which Wirtz, and many of the programmes described earlier, have been less than explicit.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on pages 196-197.

Results

Nothing comes for nothing. Part of Fullan's diagnosis of innovative failure is that we sometimes try to get too much in-

FIGURE 5

Questions for Integrative Programmes of Preparation for Adult and Working Life

	About Strengthening Connections (Ligatures)	*About Enlarging Alternatives (Options)*
About Experience-Based Learning	What happens to strengthen the connection between the network and established wisdom skills and insights of neighbourhood and community life?	What happens to give a voice in the network to imagined, incipient and emergent alternative adult and working life styles in neighbourhood and community?
About Collaborative Networks	What happens to make the range of established experience in neighbourhood and community life accessible to, and usable by, students?	How free are students to make un-predicted and alternative uses of their experiences — to make new experiences from old?

novation for too little investment of time, energy and material. And, in their competition for resources, integrative programmes — like any other — need to be able to show that they can deliver a payoff.

The programmes' angling for resources are set out below in three sections: 1. offloading tactics — 'Help this programme, and it will help you to deal with problems that have been lying around for some time'; 2. appeals to self-interested voluntarism — 'Invest your own time and effort in this programme, there's something in it for you'; 3. appeals to evidence — 'These programmes are worth supporting, they achieve what they set out to do'.

Offloading Tactics

Programmes sometimes get set in place as a means of easing pressure on limited resources. Clifford Brenner's 'vision' in the Benjamin Franklin Parkway was not wholly idealistic in character; it was also economic. Philadelphia needed, and did not have, $15 million to relieve over-crowding in its schools. And some of the argument for the project was based on the view that it represented more cost-effective use of the dollars they did have. The CIPED programme at South Brunswick High School was adopted in part because a community-based programme was seen as a means of releasing pressure on classroom space. Such initiatives are, in part anyway, attempts to offload existing problems of schooling.

Offloading examples of a different type are found in Co-operative Education programmes which are, it is sometimes

acknowledged, introduced as a means of coping with students who are proving difficult to cope with inside school rooms. Secondary school CE programmes have taken a high concentration of low academic achievers and potential drop-outs; particularly in the early years.

Appeals to Self-Interested Voluntarism

Part of the strategy of outfits like the Parkway project and City-as-School — both of which depend on members of the community volunteering help — is to appeal to self-interest. CaS explicitly makes a contract with their community resource people; in exchange for the design and delivery of a learning experience for a student, an employer is offered free-of-charge that same young person as a worker. But there are other interests to be identified; one of Parkway's community helpers acknowledged that part of his interest in participating in the scheme is because it is 'a good way to get people interested in the business'. The National Institute for Work and Learning specifically incorporate into their brochure on Education Work Councils the argument that 'communities have a vested interest in solving their own problem's and that education work councils exist, in part, to help with that process.

Both kinds of arguments are, of course, riven with dangers; for example dangers that the innovation become labelled as suitable only for 'difficult students'; and dangers that students will be exploited in their contacts in the network.

Appeals to Evidence

Wirtz acknowledges that what is being proposed in *The Boundless Resource* is no more than a hunch concerning what should be done in order to meet diagnosed needs: 'Perhaps', he admits, 'it won't work at all. There is, though, Antigone's counsel: "Until we have tried and failed, we haven't failed." This seems, in short, worth a try.' It is a weak argument; hard-headed keepers of resources are going to need more convincing than that! Wirtz acknowledges as much, 'There must be new measurements, the architects of social change seem to ignore that their efforts won't bring much change, except as some emergency develops, unless they can prove their case.'

It looks like a variation on Catch 22! Until the programmes are set up it is not possible to show what they can deliver; and until it is possible to show what they can deliver, it is hard to get them set up. But we need not get caught: we can begin now on staging an accumulation of supporting evidence for the programmes — reaching beyond rhetorical

arguments of the 'We need ... therefore we must ...' type. We can provide:

1. evidence which justifies and informs the hunch that the programmes will deliver ('If we do this ... this is what we'll get ...'); and
2. evidence that they have delivered ('We did this ... and this is what we got ...').

Later in this section I will set out a summary of British evidence which supports the hunch that the programmes are likely to deliver.

But the American programmes, or — at least — some of them, already have reportable results on delivery. An state- or federal-funded activity will need to show its capacity to achieve its objectives. After five years of operation City-as-School applied for, and received, New York State Education Department validation on the basis of statistics submitted. The statistics indicated that participation in CaS led to improved student attendance, course completion, career education competencies, self-awareness, initiative and positive attitudes towards school. Examples of such statistics show that attendance improves from a mean 70% to a mean 90% rate on transfer to CaS, and that credits are achieved at a correspondingly increased rate. Other statistics indicated increased positive staff attitudes and curriculum production, and an increase in positive attitudes on the part of community resource people.

Similar claims are made on behalf of the Parkway Project; although a great deal of what is known about the outcomes of such experiments is dependent on the impressions of the teachers who staff them. Among such impressions are those that students mature, and — in particular — develop social and decision-making skills, more rapidly at Parkway than they would in a conventional high school.

Wirtz anticipated the need for hard empirical evidence on the outcomes of such programmes; he bewails the fact that 'no one seems to realise how much this depends on some form of statistical measurement of whatever is done'. Some such evidence exists, in — for example — the CaS validation statistics. But they are not widely disseminated. CaS has produced a 16-page leaflet to encourage other outfits to use its model, and a 100-page demonstration manual: neither contains a single piece of validated evidence for outcomes.

The Co-operative Education movement is, in some respects, an exception to the generality bewailed by Wirtz. Highly quantified accounts of improvements in students are published (Slick and Welch, 1974) indicating: that 70% of students on CE programmes land their first full-time jobs

before leaving school (often as a direct consequence of a placement); that 70-80% of them use vocational skills acquired in the programme in their work life; that they earn around $20 a week more than the mean for their age; and that around 80% of them are rated above average in their job performance by their employers.

Impressive though such statistics may be in their magnitude, they are extremely limited in their scope — stronger on connections than alternatives. They do nothing, for example, to demonstrate the effectiveness of such programmes as a means of preparing for students to explore and equip themselves for a range of alternative roles, over a period of time, in a rapidly-changing labour economy. They do not indicate the extent to which students would be able to re-use the exploratory, decision-making and life skills when they leave their first job for other kinds of work. Nor do they demonstrate the consequences of such programmes for the infusion of school curricula with materials which are sufficiently broad and relevant to the adult lives which such young people will be called upon to live.

Evidence-based argument for the programme is currently weak. Part of the weakness stems from the fact that limited — and limiting — evidence is being collected and disseminated; and evidence which argues the broader case is not.

Evidence to Support the Hunch

There has been, in Britain and America, a debate among theoreticians and researchers concerned with career development in young adults. On one side are those who argue that career development is necessarily understood as psychological events; because individuals are, in their career development, involved in the consideration and implementation of some view of themselves as individuals. On the other side are those who argue that psychology is all but irrelevant to a consideration of career development; because all the main freight for what happens in people's lives is carried by events described by sociology — 'big picture' events in labour economy, social class structure and massive forces of socialisation which represent the currents and vortices which, it is argued, carry most of us to our destinies.

The argument in Britain has been called 'a contest of heavyweights'. It sounds more like the ritual aggression of beating drums from two sides of a chasm with very bad acoustics — the opponents can barely hear each other, let alone touch each other!

An irony in all of this is that a great deal of the British evidence on the issue (reviewed in Law, 1981a) supports neither camp. When asked about what influences them in getting themselves from their present into their future, most young adults refer neither to processes of introspection, nor to events in society-at-large; they are rather more likely to talk about people they have known. Much of this evidence has been lying around for some time; but it is being

strengthened by a number of recent studies. It supports the view that the life-planning and coping of young adults is undertaken in interaction with a wide range of contacts in the community in which they live out the main events of their lives — 'their patch'. The patch is populated by people who occasion learning by young adults in the warp and weft of their daily lives; people like their parents, their siblings, their extended family, their neighbourhood contacts, their peer group, teachers at their school, and members of their ethnic group. These are what the Grubb Institute (1982) terms 'ordinary' encounters — not specialised or institutionalised 'interventions'. Such ordinary community interactions seem to inform young adults concerning their sense of themselves as psychological distinct beings; and they probably also convey some of the influence of 'big picture' sociological realities. But the process is distinct from both what can be explained in mainly psychological, or mainly sociological, terms.

It is possible to disentangle from the evidence at least five likely types of gain from interactions occurring in the career development of young adults on their patch:

- *Feedback* acquired concerning their suitability for different sorts of social roles — they make images of self in contact with people they encounter in community life.
- *Support* acquired from the encouragements and reinforcements offered to aspirations by their membership of formal and informal community groups.
- *Modelling* acquired from the flesh-and-blood examples of people encountered in their participation in community life.
- *Images* and impressions of employed and non-employed adult and working life, distilled from conversations and encounters in the community.
- *Expectations* acquired from the values held by people known in community — the cues, pressures and enticements embedded in membership of formal and informal community groups.
- *Contacts* made; youngsters meet people who can open doors, tell of vacancies, identify employment and non-employment opportunities — which youngsters can use to gain entry to adult and working life.

Figure 6 sets out the elements in a possible 'community interaction' theory. It describes the theatre — a network of community contacts; and the scenario — the deliveries that network makes to its rising generations.

The influence of that network can be very potent; as any helper will be able to attest who has worked with young adults who cannot escape a 'ghetto' mentality, or take a perspective on themselves or their futures generated beyond earshot of a shout for a home goal (or 'run') at the local stadium.

Programmes described here are designed to use that potency; outfits like CaS, Parkway, Olney Park School, South Brunswick High School, and Oakland Education Work Council are concerned with working through just such networks, for just such deliveries.

They may also be concerned to extend those networks. For 'community' may be defined in both actual and potential terms. It may include the people to be met *beyond* the ghetto or village — across a city, a region, a country or (for that matter) the world. It may also include the people who live in the ghetto or village but who have

FIGURE 6

Theatre and Scenario for Integrated Programmes

Scenario — the Delivery	*Theatre — the Network*						
	Parents	Siblings	Extended Family	Neighbour-hood Contacts	Peer Group	Teachers	Ethnic Group
Feedback							
Support							
Modelling							
Images							
Expectations							
Contacts							

not been fully encountered — yet. Integration, remember, can incorporate *alternative* possibilities as well as existing connections.

Networks are extendable. And the evidence also speaks of outcomes of extension; recent evidence from the British studies begins to suggest some specific gains which students make from the extension of their community interaction. Among the phrases which have been used to describe those gains are:

- more purposeful
- more striving
- more assertive
- more exploratory
- more informed with alternatives
- less anxious.

There is good reason to hunch that any programme which jigged itself into symbiotic relationship with — and enrichment of — the community interaction of young adults would be able to report such gains for their students. But it is not an argument which all tightly-institutionalised, professionalised and bureaucratised organisations are necessarily going to find attractive. The programmes will need to continue to provide evidence to support it themselves; if they seriously seek to enter the competition for resources.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on page 197.

Influences

If integrative innovation is to have any coherence, then it needs some kind of co-ordination. What might be called a 'lay back' style of co-ordination may mean little more than making the contribution of each part of the operation visible to the whole; a more 'forward' style of co-ordination may mean actively seeking and influencing new contributions. Fullan uses the terms 'permissive' and 'top-down' to refer to such features of influence in innovative work; and reports that neither is necessarily satisfactory. Each, in its way, leaves the user of the innovation in a helpless condition, either because he or she has been on the receiving end of too much influence — or too little. The co-ordinator, or co-ordinating group, can be on a two-way loser; either for telling people what to do, or for not telling people what to do'.

Some of the programmes examined here have given thought to how such co-ordinators — whether in Education-Work Councils, as resource co-ordinators at City-as-School, in Experience-Based Careers Education Programmes, or in Co-operative Programmes — should be selected and trained. Co-ordinating influence may be thought of as depending upon the exercise of *authority* and *power* in the co-ordinator(s). And the programmes have given thought to both issues.

Authority — Which is Broad and Flexible

There is some agreement that a good co-ordinator is a person with breadth of mind; a capacity to appreciate and use a variety of different sorts of perspectives on the situation, and a capacity flexibly to adapt in response to the breadth of those perspectives.

A kind of breadth of mind is sought by the Penn State preparation programme for CE co-ordinators, which seeks 'extravert' candidates with the 'right' kind of industrial and commercial experience to give credibility in the eyes of employers; and who are, therefore, going to be good 'public relations' people. The position seems to favour the plausible as much as the authoritative face of credibility!

It is claimed at the National Institute for Work and Learning that effective people in influencing the development of experience-based programmes are people who can appreciate the positions of employers *and* students *and* schools — a (slightly) broader span of perspectives than that envisaged at the Penn State CE programme.

Arguments for a greater breadth of mind are built into training programmes for guidance counsellors — like those at Penn State and Rutgers. What one Penn State informant called 'some kind of states-person' role should be developed in training guidance counsellors. It would involve developing a broad appreciation of the social and economic issues of guidance. It is admitted that where such sociological and economic perspectives are included in training they tend to be dealt with in an intellectual rather than practical way; and it is further acknowledged that people who select themselves into guidance training are often not much interested in examining such broader perspectives; they are, naturally, more interested in mastering their face-to-face delivery skills and insights. Penn State's experience, and hope, is that school districts are, and will be, interested in appointing people who have not only such applied-psychological but also such applied-sociological insights and skills; skills that can be utilised in co-ordinating teams as well as in face-to-face work with students.

The breadth of mind required of a person concurrently to focus upon both face-to-face delivery situations, and broader social-political ambiences, may account for the fact that City-as-School has divided the single Parkway role of staff teacher into the two complementary roles — of staff tutor and resource co-ordinator. At Parkway and CaS, criteria for good resource co-ordinators have to do with the capacity of people — who may have no particular power in the system — adaptively to 'finesse' their way into credible

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acceptance by resources; a specific criterion for selection at CaS being that successful candidates should be flexible rather than rigid as personalities.

Power — and Its Limits

When asked what is the key factor in successfully establishing education-work councils, the first response to come out of NIWL is 'people who are "power brokers"'. Power brokers are people who can make the decisions which will 'mobilise' community resources, and whose professional experience has taught them the kind of 'political astuteness' which can translate a good idea into action — even where there are powerful interests and arguments against it. For this reason NIWL wants people on EWCs from senior levels in the organisations they represent.

Research for Better Schools seeks engagement with all levels in the hierarchy of education, from state commissioner, through district superintendents to school principals and teachers.

But there is, in both organisations, a sense of the dangers in entrusting too much to 'higher' levels of power in the system. NIWL have discovered, for example, that in some states the legislature has offered to pass laws mandating EWCs; and NIWL have argued against such moves. At RBS senior personnel have been in a position to write clauses into state legislation for education, but the opportunity has been declined. In both cases there is a sense that legislation might hinder as much as help.

Part of their reluctance comes from a sense that legislatively-supported innovation is politicised innovation. What can be seen as a plank in the political platform of this term's State Commissioner for Education can, for that very reason, be dismantled after the next election. In one of the states a carefully-built programme of student personnel services was dismantled by a successive state government because it was argued to be part of the 'Republican conspiracy'. Political allies are, in the nature of the beast, temporary allies — who bring with them the certainty of political opposition.

But there is also a distrust of the capacity of legislators adequately to codify and measure the complexity and diversity of what is envisaged, and what might be as yet unenvisagable. Wirtz anticipated the problem for such innovations by observing that 'present measurements of education and work are tied in with, and tend to support, present ways of doing things'. The legislation of state and federal dollars into educational innovation has tended to have, it is reported, just such a bureaucratising and crystallizing effect.

For example, at one time the Federal Government showed an interest in projects concerned with operationalising the objectives of education; and this led to cohorts of project proposals being re-written with cosmetic references to operational criteria: necessary, but not sufficient features of adequate programmes of research and development.

The general problem has taken on a specific shape at City-as-School. The operation is validated by the school district and is, therefore, subject to criteria for evaluation like other high schools in the district. Among the preoccupations of the district administration is the need to establish adequate standards of school management; and pressure is therefore put on school principals to define objectives, in advance of management decisions, concerning how resources are being mobilised to meet such objectives. But a management-by-objectives style does not necessarily fit well with such enterprises as CaS. Its resources, particularly the community resource people, are in a much more fluid relationship with its objectives. Resources are in a constant process of leakage and topping-up. It is impossible to anticipate, with the same kind of precision that a conventional high school principal would have, what is going to be available to the project more than a few weeks ahead. It might be better, therefore, to redefine the management style of the project in a way which reflects such features of its operation. And they are essentially opportunistic. A visitor to the project is struck by the extent to which almost everything the principal is called upon to do is an interruption of what he was just doing. New information, new crises, and new questions are the perpetually changing agendas for discussion and decision-making. The organisation embodies few of the continuities represented by the schedules, timetables and procedures of a conventional high school. The management-skill resides in distilling — day-by-day, at times moment-by-moment — some creative order out of unpredicted chaos. That — to be sure — requires of the principal and his staff a very clear idea of the basic aims upon which the operation is founded: but it does not permit them to define specific and concrete objectives in advance of those for the decision which is being made here-and-now. It is not management-by-objectives, but management-by-aims-and-opportunities.

And so — particularly at NIWL — there is a wish to leave local groups as free as possible to accept their own autonomous responsibility for what is specifically and concretely done in their communities. The argument is not for compliance with handed-down requirements of the law, but for the inventiveness of community; not for legalistic but for

ideational credibility; not for broad and doctrinaire solutions but for specific responses to specific problems. As an article in one of NIWL's circulars argues, 'the notion of a single, national, largely publicly-funded approach to work and education issues is not a very realistic one.'

An Ecology for Integration

We are talking here about levels of power and authority in complex systems; levels ranging from person-to-person influence through to socio-political influence.

It seems to be an issue for teachers doing counselling and guidance work in British secondary schools. Some want more than anything to work in intimate contact with other people; others seem to be able to turn their attention away from such intimacies for long enough to look at the broader social system. A statistical analysis of the responses of the 400 teachers in the attitude survey (Law, 1979) showed that teachers tended to separate themselves on issues of agreement and disagreement with items concerning:

- client centred listening;
- doing work like a social worker, psychotherapist or psychologist;
- working through informal relationships;
- speaking for the individual student;
- getting involved in people's 'personal' difficulties;
- getting involved in liaison, consultation and communication work.

People who strongly agree with such items seem to be those whose energies are pointed at close, direct, person-to-person contact. Others seemed to be freer to take account of the possibility of involvement in other areas of activity.

I am grateful to a colleague, Alan Webster, for suggesting the applicability to this discussion of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model for an 'ecology' of child development. Bronfenbrenner proposes four systems in the ecology of child development. I have transposed that analysis below; into a language of participation in such operations as City-as-School — with its staff tutors, its resource co-ordinators and its community resource people. (Bronfenbrenner's vocabulary is given in brackets.) People participate at a number of levels:

- *As members of society-at-large* (macrosystems) with all its pervasive beliefs, values, ideologies, historical legacies, and so on. It may be cited in reference to such generalised beliefs as 'the work ethic', or 'democracy', 'capitalist (or Marxist) conspiracies', the 'failure of schools' and so on. It is actually very difficult for individuals to possess authority to make such statements; but that does not deter some from claiming it. Neither does it mean that all such claims are false.
- As *members of social or organisational groupings* in society (exosystems), such as the legislative system, the school system, industrial or commercial groupings, trade unionism, and (more diffusely) 'domestic life', 'alternative lifestyles' and so on. Some of what people have to offer represents those affiliations. Alliances and agreements in the operation may be formed on such bases. People can speak from such affiliations with more

manifest credibility than from their membership of society-at-large — and the influence is legitimate if they can successfully do so.

- As *members of teams* or associations (mesosystems) they bring something that represents a school or department of a school, a home, a factory or section of a factory, an office, a co-operative, a commune, a trade union group, and so on. Some of what they have to offer is a representation of those memberships; and it is often the handle on deliberation and expertise in the operation that people will grasp with the greatest facility. It may or may not be shared with other members of the operation.
- As *persons* (microsystem) living out their own individual and distinct existences in direct and personal contact with partners in their adult and working lives. Some of what they contribute to the deliberations and deliveries of the operation is very personally their own property, based on unique personality and individual — often 'ordinary' — experience. It is the one source of influence all members may be sure of; but it can easily be made to sound weak by opponents.

There are good reasons to suppose that the analysis may be fruitful for our purpose.

In the first place it is necessary only to set out the analysis in order to realise that any attempt to achieve significant innovation from authority at one level will be ineffective. Voices on behalf of legislation are unlikely to go unopposed where that legislation does not represent genuinely pervasive beliefs and values in society-at-large. And what legislation seeks will — in any event — be ineffectual unless teams and individuals are ready to implement it. All levels of participation are necessary to development; none is sufficient.

Secondly, all levels in the ecology contain repertoires of things that can effectively be done — and things that can't! The power and authority of a member of an EWC, an EBCE teacher or a CaS resource person is — in some respects — 'greater' and — in some respects — 'less' than power and authority elsewhere in the system. There is in community interaction theory an implicit respect for the power and influence upon young people of 'ordinary' experience. Each level of the ecology has its own characteristic repertoire of influencing energies — in the forms both of authority and power — to invest in development. None has a monopoly on either wisdom or clout!

Attempts by the NY school district to impose a management-by-objectives style of operation on CaS is likely to be — at best — ineffective, because it is uncomprehending of what is well understood (but probably not very clearly articulated) by many of its community resource people. If readiness for action exists at the level of individual participation, it is not necessary to legislate for it, it is necessary only to permit and resource it. If readiness does not exist legislation will — at best — get a cosmetic response; like the rewritten project proposals mentioned on page 170.

Uncomprehending imposition may — at worst — prove to be destructive rather than merely weak; it would be an example of the imposition of power without authority! It is often argued that greater aggregate power is vested in organisations than in indivi-

duals: but even that power is limited; both by its vulnerability to cultural pressures from 'above' and the power (at least to obstruct) from 'below'. All levels in the system have at least a devil or a deep blue sea as modifiers of their influence — some have both!

So, thirdly, it is imperative to examine in detail what influence each level can — and cannot — contribute to innovative development. It seems credible to suggest, for example, that personal (microsystem) energies come — in part — from intimate knowledge of inter-personal communications and the 'sharp end' delivery skills of facilitating such communication. In the world of 'academia' we are talking about the skills and insights which come from developmental, differential and counselling psychology; disciplines which — in Britain and America — have dominated the in-service preparation of guidance personnel. Such training — refined and elaborated by personal experience — develops an authority and power which may or may not be 'less' than that found elsewhere in the system, but it will certainly be different.

Conversely, it seems credible to suggest that organisational (exosystem) energies come from generalised knowledge of how particular programmes fit into, complement, duplicate and compete with each other; and from the skills of logistically co-ordinating the contributions of each to the whole. In the world of 'academia' we are talking about skills and insights which come from the sociology of organisation, social psychology, applied political science and social administration.

We would need to be able to escape the semantic traps laid by talking about levels in the systems as having 'wholly more' or 'wholly less' power and authority in order to be able to complete the necessary job of making a thorough inventory of what kinds of power and authority lay in each level of the system.

Fourthly, such an analysis does something to resolve the dilemma in Fullan's characterisation of 'top-down' versus 'permissive' innovations. Both styles fail to take account of the mutual needs in the system which an analysis like Bronfenbrenner's makes clear. The former style makes the error of ignoring the power and authority which lies at the personal (microsystem) and team-based (mesosystem) levels; the latter makes the error of ignoring that power and authority at the organisational (exosystem) and globally ideational (macrosystem) levels. Growth depends upon all levels in the ecosphere: it is fed by its roots, pollinated by its peers, is watered and irradiated from the skies. The dilemma cannot be resolved in terms of deciding who contributes *more* or *less* influence: it may be resolvable in terms of deciding who contributes *what kind* of influence. (The issue is developed further in the section entitled 'Actions'.)

The fifth point takes us back to the reason for raising the issue of influence in the first place. A feature of integrative innovation in careers guidance is to be found in the extent to which it is a co-ordinated activity. And a co-ordinator touches the linkages within and between all levels of the ecosystem. In order to know how 'forward' or 'lay-back' a stance to take with regard to any particular innovative enterprise, that person will need to know more than he or she has imported from whatever level of the system she or he has been recruited to the task. (The case applies whether that recruitment has been made — as NIWL hope — from among 'power brokers'; or — as Penn State guidance training programme suggest

— from among guidance counsellors.) Such a person will need to have better than a stereo-type of what power and authority lies at all levels in the system. The implications for selection and training of co-ordinators may be more extensive than are currently taken into account — even at Penn State and Rutgers.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on pages 197-198.

Diversifications

Whatever the problem, there is always more than one way of defining it; and always more than one way of ameliorating or solving it. It is a special feature of integrated programmes — with their networks — that they should always be able to tap *other* ways of looking at problems and their solutions. The enemy is narrowness of vision, and — as Fullan points out — the incapacity to unlearn what already has become fixed in the individual or collective mind.

At both the National Institute for Work and Learning and Research for Better Schools there is a strong sense of the untapped yield yet to be found in the ideas of education-work councils and experience-based learning. They employ rather different strategies for tapping that diversity.

Network Membership and Agendas

At NIWL the preferred strategy for maintaining the breadth of the idea of collaboration is that local EWCs go for diversity of perspective on two counts; to: 1. involve as wide a range of different interests as possible; and 2. open agendas to as wide a range of suggestions for initiation as possible.

NIWL are particularly interested, therefore, in councils which invite membership from community organisations which might not immediately occur as obvious candidates for membership. It pays particular attention to gaining representation on councils from such groups as young people in the community, their parents, trade unionists, and others who do not have the same sort of institutionalised, visible and manifestly credible base in community life as, say, employers or educationists. But NIWL's experience is that — in some cases because of their lack of visible institutional base, and in some cases because of the different terms in which they voice their concerns — parents, young people and trade unionists have some difficulty in achieving credibility in the councils. They tend, therefore, to drop out of membership. Diversification will be much enhanced where such groups can be helped to achieve credibility in the councils, and — therefore — stay. All of this says nothing about involving voices for the wide range of alternative adult and

working life styles in a community — of which NIWL takes no apparent account at all.

The problem of maintaining a breadth of perspective in implementing new ideas is a problem, too, at the sharp end of delivery — in such projects as Parkway, and City-as-School. Diversity of representation on EWCs needs to be reflected, at delivery level, in diversity among community resource people; and — at CaS — it is reported that the problems of achieving a sufficient diversity of potential placements for students is perennial.

Uses and Limitations of 'Group Dynamics' and Inputs'

Research for Better Schools is working mainly with existing and well-defined school systems and their political superstuctures; and the NIWL strategy of diversifying perspective through augmenting membership of teams is, therefore, not an option.

And, it is repeatedly reported, existing teams of teachers on integrative programmes tend to 'pull back' into familiar classroom-based patterns of work. Both the Parkway and the Community Involved Placement for Educational Development projects report the wish of teachers to hold students inside school. The Principal of City-as-School, sensing the coming of some such confrontation with his staff, was heard to observe (mainly to himself) 'Goddam it! If I can't get them to go with the idea themselves, then I'll take them with me!'.

Coercion, though tempting in moments of extreme frustration, is not the only strategy considered. At RBS there is a dilemma concerning the different values of what are there called 'group dynamic'-based and 'input'-based consultancy and training methods.

There are, among some personnel at RBS, doubts concerning the usefulness of 'organisation development' (OD) styles of consultancy — with their heavy reliance upon releasing the group-dynamic potential for solving the group's own problems. The OD method of clarifying and reflecting perspectives generated from within a relatively closed system (like a school) can, it may be argued, degenerate into the celebration of reciprocally-reinforced ignorance, prejudice and conservatism. RBS observe — however — that people working in an OD mode in school systems report a high degree of satisfaction with such processes; but this may amount — after all — to little more than a group-celebration of 'being us'. The Third Reich might well have experienced such satisfaction with such an outcome; public acknowledgement of the possibility of alter-

native ideas came only with incursion of perspectives from beyond the Oder and the Rhine. Some RBS personnel are, therefore, not impressed with reports of client-satisfaction; and they will only place reliance on OD methods where it is clear that the group has sufficient diversity of knowledge, attitudes and skills to be able to fertilise and extend its own current thinking and development.

The alternative strategy is to try to weave new content — which seeks to inform and extend existing preoccupations — into the process. Sometimes the infusion of new content is achieved by setting the group the task of finding out more, sometimes by bringing new information into the group in a way which models the usefulness and technique of doing so.

Both elements were present in a consultation which RBS accepted to work with a school system preoccupied with a political desirability to be seen to respond to the special needs of the children of Hispanic families. The consultation took the form of challenging the group to define the problem in broader terms than the need, politically, to be seen to be doing something. It was noted that members of the group were coming to meetings with no more information on subsequent occasions than they had at the beginning; they were coming 'empty handed'. So the RBS consultant came to later meetings fully-briefed with new information relevant to discussions. This 'full-handed' participation in meetings was experienced by the group as challenging and effective. The group modelled their behaviour upon it, eventually hiring a specialist to head a working party thoroughly to inquire into the problem, analyse the data and suggest recommended action based on new knowledge. (The method has not always worked out that way in Britain, as the report of the Careers Guidance Integration Project repeatedly illustrates — Evans and Law, 1982.)

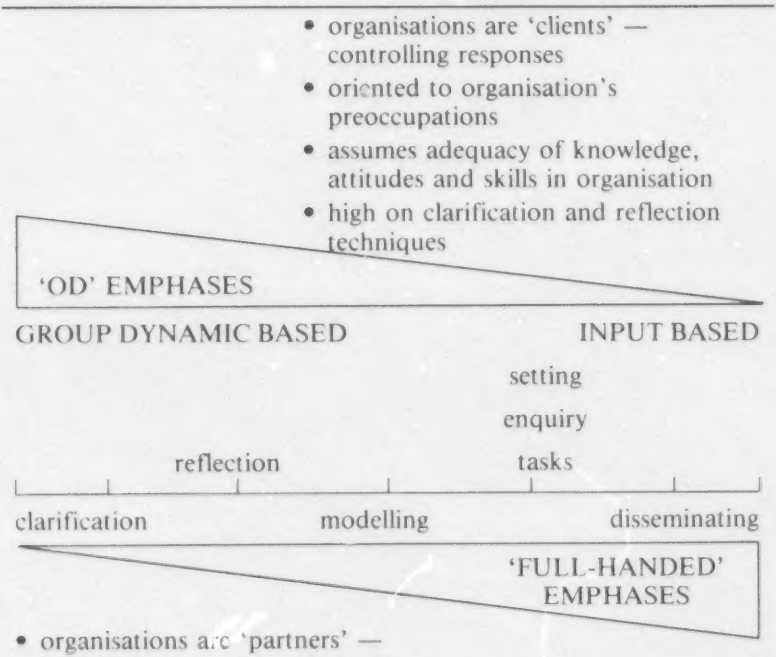
The technique is similar to some that might be used by OD consultants. But it is argued by RBS personnel that the purposes are different. OD methods depend upon a 'consultant-client' relationship, and in which the client defines the 'problem' and controls the response to it. The preference among these RBS personnel is for a 'partnership' relationship with organisations; in which the consultant brings alternative perspectives, and the organisations bring a willingness to share their responsibility for deciding what happens with the consultant. The stategy does not necessarily imply that the consultant rides rough-shod over the pre-occupations and perspectives of the host organisation; neither does it necessarily imply that he or she will insist that everything that is known outside the organisation must be known and

responded to inside it. New material is introduced selectively and progressively, and in response to a sense of the readiness of the organisation to use it. But it does imply that the consultant accepts a considerable degree of responsibility for what happens as a result of the consultation; and this, in turn, implies that the consultant must be clear concerning the ideas she or he seeks to disseminate, and informed concerning the wide range of actions that can come out of them.

Figure 7 sets out some of the elements in the dilemma and relates it to features of training and consultancy activity on a continuum.

FIGURE 7

Repertoires for Consultancy and Training


• organisations are 'clients' — controlling responses
• oriented to organisation's preoccupations
• assumes adequacy of knowledge, attitudes and skills in organisation
• high on clarification and reflection techniques
'OD' EMPHASES
GROUP DYNAMIC BASED
INPUT BASED
setting
enquiry
tasks
reflection
clarification
modelling
disseminating
'FULL-HANDED' EMPHASES
• organisations are 'partners' — sharing control with trainers or consultants
• oriented to alternative perspectives
• assumes deficit in knowledge, attitudes and skills in organisation
• high on disseminating techniques, 'full-handed'

Boundaries for Diversification

We are talking here about resources for adaptability. Diversification brings with it a repertoire of possible responses, and therefore

high adaptability: lack of diversity means an inflexible 'Johnny-one-note' unadaptability.

Much of what has been said about these two states in organisations and social groups can be traced to Durkheim (1972) who analysed societies as having greater or lesser degrees of 'mechanical' and 'organic' cohesion.

> A society high on *mechanical* cohesion depends upon the similarity of beliefs held by its members, beliefs which are crystallised into a detailed, consensual and — eventually — 'statutory' regulation of their conduct. Individual members do not, therefore, readily think of conflict with the group; they accept the assignment to them of their roles in the group. They also have a very clear sense concerning who is 'inside' — and what is acceptable — to the group, and of who and what is 'outside' and not acceptable.
>
> A society high on *organic* cohesion depends upon the differences between its members, and so it deals with conflict in terms of 'civil' and lateral — rather than statutory or consensual — action between members. Conflict within the group is part of the stuff of which the whole is made, members are free to achieve idiosyncratic roles, the society is complex and diverse, and it is much more difficult to determine who or what is 'inside' and 'outside' its boundaries of membership and acceptability.

Durkheim's ideas are capable of extension into the sociologies of firms and schools. For example Burns and Stalker (1966) distinguish between industrial and commercial firms as 'mechanistic' and 'organismic' systems. The former are characterised more by stable constellations of jobs, skills and specialised knowledge; by a stronger reliance upon the existing and familiar as a basis for decisions; and by a higher degree of control from the top.

Bernstein (1967) characterises schools as being organised along 'closed' or 'open' lines. The former have greater degrees of institutional — rather than personal — control; and a greater reliance upon a small number of simply defined roles — there will, for example, be a small number of people in management roles, and teacher roles will be relatively undiversified into such specialisms as guidance and counselling. Conversely, open schools 'celebrate diversity, not purity'.

Although he did not use the following analysis himself, Durkheim's and his successors' polarisations of types of social organisation identifies three boundaries relevant to the release or containment of diversity. Those boundaries:

- Separate the group from other groups: preventing what is 'outside' coming 'inside' — *external* boundaries.
- Separate the group sectionally from itself: preventing lateral action which is independent of whole group consensus or control from 'the top' — *internal* boundaries.
- Separate personality and role: preventing conflict between individuals, or between the individual and the group — the boundary *with individuality*.

External boundaries. Burns and Stalker point out that mechanistic systems show little respect for cosmopolitain affiliations and expertise, available in the milieu beyond the organisation's gates. And, according to Bernstein, a closed school is similarly protected from outsiders; it resists parental influence, the impact

of 'teenage' culture and the cultural diversification of classroom materials. In a later article Bernstein (1971) focuses upon curriculum by characterising it in terms of 'framing' by different schools. Strong framing means that a clear boundary is set between what may and what may not be transmitted to students. Strong curriculum framing is a feature of closed schools.

Internal boundaries. A feature of mechanistic systems is, according to Burns and Stalker, that fewer consultations occur laterally between members of the workforce. And Bernstein points out that closed schools are similarly divided internally; affording little opportunity for cross-curriculum work or team teaching.

In the later article Bernstein also examined curriculum in terms of the degree to which it is 'classified' by schools. A highly classified curriculum is one in which knowledge is collected behind well-insulated subject-boundaries.

Boundaries with individuality. Burns and Stalker characterise mechanistic firms as being less likely than organismic firms to pay attention to individual human capacities in making decisions about how the firm should operate. Bernstein suggests that it is a feature of closed schools to assign roles to teachers and students on a limited number of criteria — de-emphasising their individuality; and to resist attempts by teachers and students to achieve new roles and positions in the school on the basis of their special qualities. A newly-appointed teacher would be expected to do much what his or her predecessor had done. A characteristic of strong curriculum framing is, according to Bernstein, that teachers do not permit knowledge taken from individual experience in the world outside their formally-defined role, to intrude into classroom work.

Both Burns and Stalker, and Bernstein, point to what they take to be the consequences for unadaptability of such impermeable boundaries. Mechanistic firms sit uneasily in changing circumstances; and closed schools develop a siege mentality in rapidly changing and diversifying neighbourhoods and communities.

Such analyses may have a value beyond that of keeping academic sociologists out of worse mischief; they may prove fruitful for practice. For a *boundary against* diversification is also a *potential link* to diversification. Gates can be put into walls. So, anyone interested in diversifying an operation's capacity to meet problems, could fruitfully consider these questions. What further diversity can be:

- brought into the operation from outside — by new membership or outside input?
- released from the separated sections — departments, factions, etc. — already in the operation?
- released from individual members of the operation?

All three routes are represented in the work of NIWL and RBS. The 'new membership' strategy is favoured at NIWL, it penetrates the external boundary. So does the 'outside input' strategy favoured by some members of RBS. The release of individual potentiality and sectional views may be achieved by the 'group dynamic'-based consultancy and training activities favoured by other members of RBS. They both penetrate individual and internal boundaries. The release of individual potentiality may also penetrate the external boundary, for individuals have authority taken from experience outside their roles in the system. There is

more than one way of getting diversity of knowledge, attitude and skill into an operation.

There are of course problems in all three routes. All imply conflict, for diversity implies conflict; between individual and system, section and section, new and old members, host and consultant. That is acknowledged by Durkhein nd his disciples. All three routes also require that work is done on identifying the extent and limits of the influence to be claimed by, and conceded to, participants in the conflict. Issues of influence were discussed in a previous section. Issues for conflict will be discussed further in the section entitled 'Developments'.

Examples of operational questions developed for this discussion appear on pages 198-199.

Actions

Good innovative words are never enough they require to be made flesh. Fullan's evidence of studies of innovation point — often enough — to the difficulties of using innovative ideas which are not talked about in terms of the concrete and specific realities of working situations; of roles, resources and procedures. They invite the 'For-Pete's-sake-just-tell-me-what-you-want-me-to-do!' retort. But the agents of innovation sometimes resist such demands to be concrete and specific; because — perhaps — they can see more potentiality in the idea than any inventory of 'things to do' will ever contain.

Our experience of incarnation, to date, indicates that it is not an undertaking to be embarked upon lightly! The innovative idea may originate from too high up and too far away to be instantly recognisable to its audiences; it is probably going to contain more potentiality than they will appreciate for some time to come; and the actions it implies may not so much be found to 'be tried and found wanting, but found difficult and not tried!' (With acknowledgement to G.K. Chesterton).

At both the National Institute for Work and Learning and Research for Better Schools a great deal of thought has necessarily been invested in the problem of getting innovative ideas translated into action.

Taking Time to Explore

A feature of early discussion in some local education work councils in the US — maybe a product of the need to exhibit 'American know-how' — has been that people have tended to move straight to 'things to be done'; without developing any underlying ideas or concepts concerning the meaning and significance of their actions — beyond immediate, short-term practicality. It might be called the 'let's-get-to-it!' syndrome. The experience at NIWL is that people need time to

find out what is — and what might be — involved in the idea. The idea of EWCs is not instantly recognisable — particularly where they speak of employers sitting down with labour unionists to talk about education. NIWL find that it is necessary to state and explore the idea many times before it becomes recognisable and usable by people, and — therefore — credible to them.

But any suggestion for action can also be used to invoke a concept; a way of explaining to ourselves why we want to undertake a particular action; of expressing the value that the action has, so that the value of one action can be compared with the value of another; and a basis for arguing or guessing what kind of outcomes might be gained from the action. For example, 'work experience' is an action programme which can be used to invoke the concept of experience-based learning. A careers convention (or careers fair) is an action which is capable of invoking a concept of collaboration between diverse partners. And fund raising by EWCs is an action which assumes a concept of community responsibility for the upbringing of the rising generation. 'Experience-based learning', 'diverse collaboration' and 'community responsibility' are abstract not concrete; they are concepts. Actions take on meaning and significance when they are spoken of along with (these or other) concepts which inform them.

More importantly, any such concept, once thoroughly taken on board, can be re-used to generate a thousand more suggestions for things to be done. 'Experience-based learning' is more abstract than 'work experience', but it is broader in its scope and richer in its potentiality.

According to informants at NIWL the use of such abstract concepts may come later to trade unionists than to (say) educationists or (even) employers. Early participation in EWCs by trade unionists has, naturally, tended to be about immediate, concrete and pragmatic union demands — such as action for improved pay, security and working conditions for the labour force. But where labour unionists are able to articulate a concept underlying such demands — such a concept might be, for example, 'quality of worklife' — they can more successfully counterpoise their arguments against employers' use of conceptions of 'productivity' or the educationists' 'preparation for adulthood'. Furthermore the concept of 'quality of worklife' has embedded within it much more potentiality than can be expressed in terms of action for pay, security and working conditions. It is capable of releasing suggestions ranging from those concerning the aesthetic quality of working environments to those concern-

ing worker-participation in decision-making. Such a concept, once credibly established in the currency of the group, strengths the position in that group of its proponents, and provides the group with a powerful tool for the generation of a concrete and operational programme of action.

For this reason NIWL spends much of its time in the early stages of establishing EWCs providing people with opportunities to articulate and re-articulate their *perceptions* of what is happening — and may happen — in their community; until the underlying *concepts* which are informing people's suggestions become articulated, visible, recognizable credible and — therefore — re-usable.

Scenario Building

Experience at Research for Better Schools sees itself primarily in the business of disseminating concepts. It has developed action programmes to implement the concepts, and has resourced them with materials; and members of the organisation report that it is much easier to disseminate strategies and materials than it is to disseminate concepts. Ready-made action programmes are relatively easy to sell; concepts take more time and commitment from both the purchaser and the vendor. They also require a period of preparatory consultation in order to become clear and usable.

It is reported, at RBS, that teachers experience difficulty in understanding a concept like 'education' except in terms of what they habitually perceive as its activities and materials. When the Federal Government made more resources available to schools under the Title One provisions, many teachers faced with the question 'what are you going to do with the increased resources?', found it difficult to go beyond a 'more of the same' reply. RBS feel that the concept of 'education' has been trapped inside the immediate, visible, and familiar day-to-day operations of 'schools'. A new concept of 'experience-based learning', therefore, often proves difficult to learn; for it requires a separation between the ideas of 'education' and 'schooling'; and — it is reported by people at RBS — that separation is not always easy to achieve in the minds of American schoolteachers. Yet such a separation — when it occurs — opens the door to new realisations that some of what happens in school is not particularly educational, and some of what happens outside school can be highly educational.

The priority at RBS is, therefore, to stay with disseminating concepts; but to acknowledge that ideas depend for their credibility upon being recognisable in terms of the concrete operations to which they can lead. The technique —

which may be called 'scenario building' — is to gain a response to a concept proposed by RBS: by inviting users to visualise what they think its practical implementation might look like; by inviting them to elaborate on each other's visualisation of such scenarios; and by that means progressively to re-identify the originating concept in terms of what is common and central to their shared anticipations. The resultant idea may turn out to be different from the original concept dreamed up in a research and development organisation like RBS. But it will have the strength of being founded in users' capacities to translate it into concrete operations. And, once made part of their currency, there is no limit to the extent to which such an idea can continue to be re-used in further and different actions.

An example is to be found in a programme to help college faculty members implement experience-based learning. The North Carolina Faculty Fellows Programme (reported at NIWL) involves the interactive use of an idea (experience-based learning) and a concrete, and — in this case — real, scenario for implementation. The programme involved sending 26 faculty members from 17 junior colleges into 10-day explorations of experience-based learning resources in the community, with a series of concept-based tasks to consider The tasks included:

1. identifying under-used community resources for experience-based learning programmes;
2. if necessary, getting somebody in an organisation 'out there' to help in a 'brokering' role;
3. in consultation with resource, drawing up an experience-based programme; and
4. presenting it to the resource for their consideration of whether they should join the college's experience-based programme.

The programme takes a basic innovative idea and puts users into an exploratory but concrete relationship with that idea. It radically extends the scenario-building strategy, by directly utilising prospective sites in the community. The fusion of the use of concrete experiences with the use of an educational idea represents a considerable and promising extension for 'work experience for teachers' programmes currently used in Britain.

Ideas for Action: Action for Ideas

We are talking here about the relationship between ideas and action between knowing 'why?' and knowing 'how?'; between what — initially — can often only be stated in abstract terms, and what — sooner or later — is going to have to be stated and done in concrete terms; between theory and practice.

And, while the abstract world of concepts and theory may be claimed to be remote and irrelevant by people who like to think of themselves as pragmatists, the reality is that inside every celebrant of down-to-earth good old American (or whosever) 'know-how' there is a secret theoretician — often hiding! For it is in the nature of humanity to make theories. Everyone of us develops internal mental concepts of the world with which we take ourselves to be dealing.

We use those concepts, based upon what we take to be the evidence of our senses, to generate hunches and guesses about causes and effects in the world; so that the picture becomes a model — or theory — which we use to explain and predict events. We base our actions on those explanations and predictions. In that sense all action is experimental, based upon theories about how things will come out as a result of the actions. Theorising and experimentation are not the private property of scientists. We all do it; although we do not all invest it with the same rigour.

It is, moreover, convincingly arguable that professional people *should* theorise. We expect medical and engineering professionals to make a serious attempt to understand what it is they propose to tamper with. We have a right to expect of those who propose to tamper with the life chances of our rising generations that they make some kind of serious attempt to arrive at a basis for explaining and predicting what it is that they think that they are about.

It may seem odd to use Piaget to explain the thinking of adults — particularly of teachers: for teachers have, for decades, been using Piaget to explain the thinking of children. But Piaget's and his disciples' (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969) research on mental development from childhood to adolescence provides a frame for examining the issue. The critical phase in the story of that development occurs during adolescence when the mental repertoire of the developing person is radically expanded into adult breadth. Childlike thinking, which in Piaget's terms is characterised by the word 'concrete', is infused and accompanied in the maturing person with thinking which Piaget characterises with the term 'formal'.

- *Concrete thinking* is dominated by what people perceive, and the assembly of those perceptions into an ordered picture of the reality with which they take themselves to be dealing. The picture is, of course, changed from time to time; but it is changed selectively and in a way which sustains a sense of continuity as well as development. Sometimes the evidence of the senses is altered to fit the existing picture (Piaget calls this 'assimilation'); sometimes the picture is altered to fit new sensory evidence (Piaget calls this 'accommodation'). The resulting picture of the world, and the extent to which it corresponds with other people's pictures, is the basis upon which shared and co-operative experience becomes possible.
- *Formal thinking* is dominated by concepts. The person is now not satisfied with the picture, but seeks explanations and predictions beyond and behind it. The evidence of the senses, and the picture they yield, are re-used to make new knowledge; for example, by generating testable guesses and hunches about unseen causes and effects. The world is no longer bounded by the use of perceptions; it encompasses other possibilities which are bigger and more complete than the un-used evidence of the senses can, alone, encompass. The active use of perceptions

leads to the construction of an inner world full of 'formal' ideas, models and theories — in a word, concepts. We base a great part of our action on our belief in those concepts. All action is — in that sense — experimental. We are all — in that sense — theoreticians.

Piaget's analysis suggests how we might put together into comprehensible sequence a number of the problems encountered, and actions undertaken, at NIWL and RBS.

The sequence is set out in Figure 8 (see page 186). It is an 'ideal' sequencing in the sense that it represents a conceptualisation. It is not therefore a specific or concrete script, but a concept from which a variety of new scripts may be visualised. (Perceptive readers will have noticed that, at this point, the message is becoming the medium!

Towards the left of the diagram the process is concerned with making concepts practical, checking for recognisability, translating ideas into action, and seeking new actions. Towards the right of the diagram the process is concerned with translating action into ideas, getting articulation of concepts (by users as well as by consultants and trainers), discovering the extent to which people are basing their suggestions on common or different concepts, modifying them in response to experience, and unlocking further potential in the ideas.

If such a presentation of innovative practice has any validity, it is clear that NIWL are right to insist that such work must be allowed to take the time that is needed to explore the concept before implementation is approached. The figure sets out a style of innovation which has a sequence of initiatory, implementation and follow-up phases; developmental features which Fullan and Pomfret found, often enough, to be notable by their absence from accounts of innovatory programmes.

Indeed the figure is infinitely extendable — taking on future route references to full-scale implementation, evaluation and extension.

Examples of operational questions developed from this conceptual discussion appear on pages 199-200.

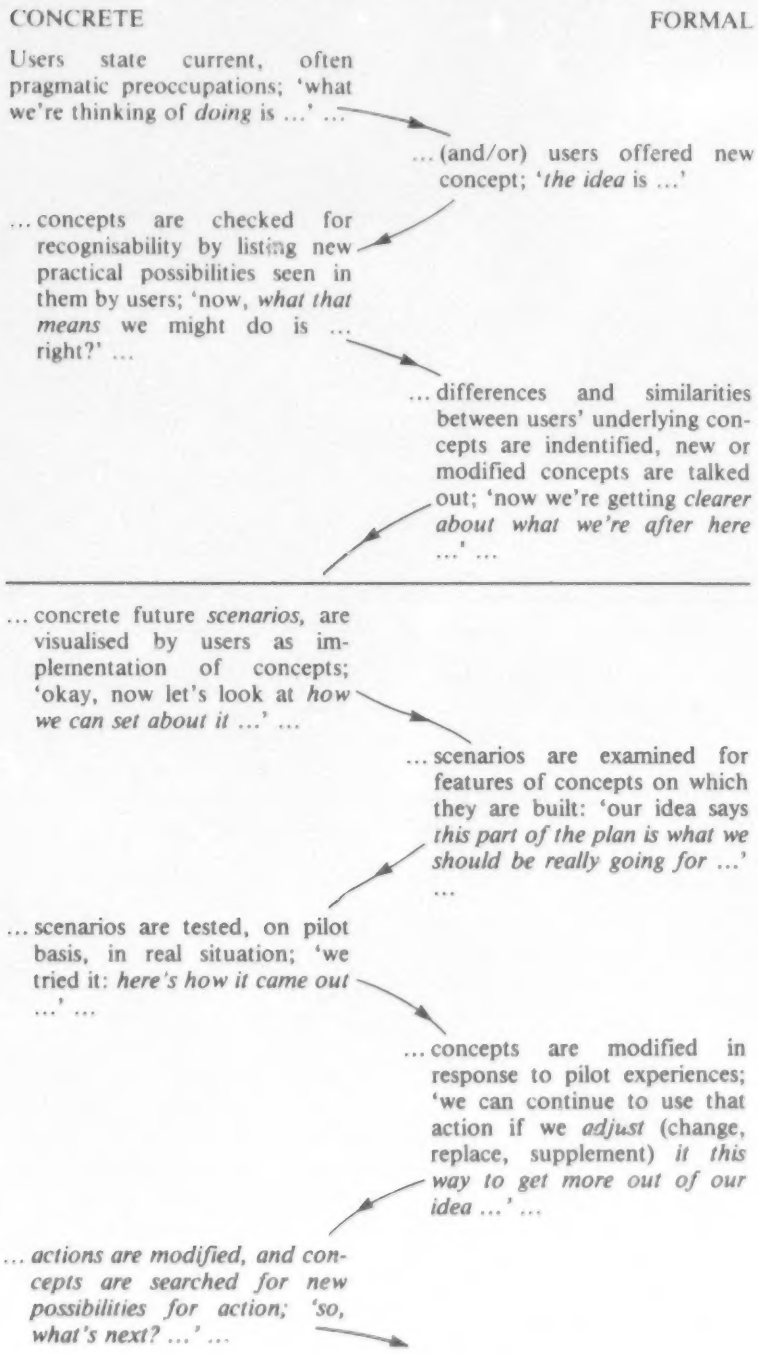
Developments

You don't have to be much of a horticulturalist to know that what happens between dropping a seed into the soil (the beginning) and harvesting the crop (the end) is both important to productivity and interesting in its own right. Fullan and Pomfret's complaint about accounts of educational innovation is that a great deal of attention is paid to the beginning (adoption) phase and the end (evaluation) phase of educational innovation; but relatively little attention is paid to how the organism is helped to take root and thrive — the whole fascinating process of developing implementation.

The National Institute for Work and Learning, which is the outfit which is producing a handbook and state-of-the art report for education-work councils, has invested thought in what might be called the 'natural history' of an EWC.

FIGURE 8

Exploratory Scenario-Building Using the "Concrete" and "Formal" in Innovation


CONCRETE
FORMAL
Users state current, often pragmatic preoccupations; 'what we're thinking of *doing* is ...' ...
... (and/or) users offered new concept; '*the idea* is ...'
... concepts are checked for recognisability by listing new practical possibilities seen in them by users; 'now, *what that means* we might do is ... right?' ...
... differences and similarities between users' underlying concepts are indentified, new or modified concepts are talked out; 'now we're getting *clearer about what we're after here* ...' ...
... concrete future *scenarios*, are visualised by users as implementation of concepts; 'okay, now let's look at *how we can set about it* ...' ...
... scenarios are examined for features of concepts on which they are built: 'our idea says *this part of the plan is what we should be really going for* ...' ...
... scenarios are tested, on pilot basis, in real situation; 'we tried it: *here's how it came out* ...' ...
... concepts are modified in response to pilot experiences; 'we can continue to use that action if we *adjust* (change, replace, supplement) *it this way to get more out of our idea* ...' ...
... *actions are modified, and concepts are searched for new possibilities for action; 'so, what's next? ...'* ...

Early phases of EWC development are different from — and prepare the way for — more mature phases. NIWL sees EWCs as developing organisms.

Development in Content — and Process

It is envisaged at NIWL, for example, that an early stage in an EWC's life might be given to some kind of needs assessment enquiry; such as an enquiry into the problems of women already working and wishing to work. An activity like this helps the council to know what to do — it provides *content* for the council's agenda. But it also offers a *process* gain; for it provides a new council with a clear and manageable task upon which collaborative relationships may be built. NIWL is just as interested in the process task of establishing early collaborative relationships in the council, as in the content tasks of identifying items for later council action.

At a later stage, having carried out such an enquiry, the EWC may decide to develop a directory of opportunities and helping resources for women in the community. But that also has its process value — in establishing the credibility of the EWC as a community organisation. It manifests the EWC as producing what no other single organisation is able to produce; it is important at NIWL that it does so with a high degree of neutrality — so that it becomes identifiable as an agency to which any group in the community may turn.

The process of establishing EWCs as collaborative, visible, and credible operations in the community is important at NIWL. Even unproductive activities are worth undertaking if they have good process outcomes. A common early suggestion is that the EWC organise a career convention (or careers fair). NIWL is not very enthusiastic about the payoff value of such events; but it can see important process value in running such an event — where it invites council members into collaborative relationships with each other, and where it achieves some visibility for the existence of the council in its community. NIWL place a higher payoff value on such projects as finding experience-based placements for high school students in the community — but they are also valuable for providing a collaborative and highly visible activity for the EWC.

The Division of Occupational and Vocational Studies at Pennsylvania State College takes a similar view of the importance of establishing credibility and visibility early in the life of Co-operative Education Programmes. Trainee co-

ordinators are encouraged first to pilot schemes that they know can be *seen* to be successful; and then to make that success as visible as possible to as wide a range of audiences as possible at an early stage in programme development. It could be termed the 'build-from-early-and-visible-success' strategy.

With sufficient neutral credibility visibly established in the community, an EWC may turn its attention to canvassing for financial aid to support more ambitious projects. But, where it is successful in raising money, the distribution of that money to constituent organisations will be subject to considerable interested pressure. And, NIWL argues, it is probably unwise to get into such a politicised phase of operation until the credibility of the organisation is well established in community perceptions. As one member of NIWL observed, 'You can go for the money too early!'

At NIWL, then, there are at least three early process phases in the 'natural history' of a developing network such as an EWC:

1. Achieving collaboration
2. Achieving visible credibility
3. Deferring conflicts

And they are arguing that the phases *should* appear in that way. (British accounts of what *actually* happens in school-community liaison groups offer some parallels to this account — see Roberts and Law, 1982.)

Consensus and Conflict?

Interwoven with such thinking at NIWL is the notion of progressively achieved consensus in the council. The notion — it is claimed — has its roots in the thinking of Wirtz, who remarked that the consultative group which produced *The Boundlesss Resource* was initially in 'sharp and broad disagreement ... at first about almost everything'; but that 'consensus broadened at each meeting' becoming 'significantly larger as we moved from the discussion of general principles to a consideration of specific proposals'; and that 'the realisation that this was happening encouraged the effort'. So, argues Wirtz, the production of *The Boundless Resource* stands as a 'fair example of what the process it recommends can be expected to produce'. A feature of the credible neutrality of EWCs is now, therefore, conceived at NIWL in terms of the extent to which they can

achieve consensus. Councils are thought of as consensus-building organisations. So where, for example, local employers resist the inclusion of labour union representation on the council, NIWL take the view that it is better to steer clear of the conflict. At the same time NIWL hopes that EWCs will become sufficiently strong at later stages to be able to handle any conflict involved in suggesting the inclusion of, say, labour union representation. But, it is argued, it is better to wait to be ready for that confrontation than to provoke it too early. The argument is exactly parallel with that of not 'going for the money' too early.

Such caution has its consequences. Deferring and avoiding conflict will restrict the variety of perspectives that are represented in discussion. NIWL acknowledges as much. Minority voices — particularly less articulate minority voices — may be silenced, may even withdraw; agreements may be superficial, untested by exposure to opposing voices; tyrannies of the articulate may develop. NIWL feel that some of the worst examples of such consequences are to be found in EWCs where commercial and industrial interests have hijacked the operation as a 'hurrah for business and the capitalist economy', marked more by the cosmeticism of public-relations events (with presentations of gifts to participating members of EWCs) than by any concrete evidence of educational achievement. (Roberts and Law, 1982 also provide British examples of attempts at hijacking — from the right and the left of the socio-political spectrum.)

The conception of councils as conflict-deferring organisations is, arguably, a misunderstanding of Wirtz. He reported that conflict *preceded* consensus. The implication is that consensus is not achieved by deferment, but by working through conflicts at an early stage in development. Growth, after all, is a form of change: and change necessarily involves tension between the actual and the potential. Wirtz makes the point; 'Inevitable tensions will develop between such councils and institutions already in place. But productive tensions is probably an essential element in constructive change. Existing institutions become function-oriented; their original purposes get pushed back by the pressures of the regularities by which we maintain our daily existence. Productive tension must come in large measure from outside. One of the proper concerns here will be to see that councils do not become busy justifying themselves that this purpose of change is too timidly served.'

Consensus may take a number of different forms:

- The '*no-contest*' form produces untested 'consensus' based on the unwillingness of some to pursue issues

where they feel unsupported. Such would be a consensus more apparent than real: comprised of swamping and blocking by the articulate and powerful, and silent acquiescence by the rest.

- The '*standoff*' form is a compromise: the achievement of some limited middle-position with which all participants can agree — slightly. 'Stand off' means 'I'll stop shooting at you if you'll stop shooting at me!' It is a *modus vivendi* rather than a consensus. Disagreements are not resolved, they are shelved.
- The '*resolution*' form comes with a shift of opinion by all or some of the participants to some shared position. It is what Wirtz describes in his account of the generation of The *Boundless Resource*. It involves being prepared to disagree for long enough to find out where the roots of disagreement lie.
- The '*ambiguity tolerant*' form is an agreement to disagree: an espousal of the value of having more than one way — and no single 'right' way — of looking at the situations and problems with which we are concerned: agreement that disagreement is a good thing. NIWL claim that some EWCs have achieved what might be called such a 'superordinate' consensus. In such councils conflict is perennial; and welcome!

Perhaps — as NIWL suggest — these four types of consensus may be regarded as states in the growth of collaboration. If that is so there is a serious danger of arrested development at the first two stages. And it is also clear that progress to the last two stages requires some risk-taking on the part of participants in the group. The cautious will think more than twice before embarking upon an initiative which will start the shooting — again!

Boldness versus Caution

Growth takes time; but — as every horticulturalist knows — it can be accelerated. Indeed the horticulturalist's skill resides in knowing just how boldly he or she should interfere with the natural maturation of events. Some horticulturalists are more cautious than others.

The survey (Law, 1979) of the guidance and counselling attitudes in British teachers suggests that they adopt different styles as well. A factor to emerge from a statistical analysis of their responses was concerned with the extent to which they saw themselves as actively intervening in the situations with which they were dealing. (These situations included both the lives of their clients and the functioning of the school in which they worked.)

Some were bolder, some were more cautious. The items on the questionnaire which attracted the bold and repelled the cautious were items which referred to:

- decision-making responsibility;
- administrative responsibility;
- showing teachers how to be effective;
- acting as a source of information to teachers;
- mediating in the system;
- working to change the system;
- behaviour modification in students.

Agreement with these items cannot be described as habitual timidity.

- Interestingly the *bold* bear some resemblance to British political types first described by Eysenck (1954) as 'tough minded'. The bold or tough-minded may or may not be in support of the system or the establishment; but — either way — they are out for results, they want their tomorrow today; they are not in a mood to wait when a bit of leverage — whether subversive or authoritarian — might make a difference. Some, of course, are bolder about that than others! They are the stuff of which authoritarian systems, and the subversives who seek to radically reform them, are made. The extremely tough-minded are more likely — argues Eysenck — to be fascist than conservative, more likely to be communist than socialist.
- Other people are so habitually *cautious* that you would hardly know they were there at all. They would not seek decision-making responsibility, nor any other kind of 'clout' in the system. Things, they may argue, must be allowed to take their course. They bear some resemblance to the political types identified by Eysenck as 'tender-minded'. They may be for or against the system; but you would hardly notice it for they are going to appear to stay close to the middle ground on all issues. Some are, of course, less cautious than others: but, for the likes of the cautious, support of the system will be no stronger than paternalism; and independence of the system no stronger than permissiveness.

The habitual boldness and caution of participants in an operation — team and network members, managers and co-ordinators, trainers and consultants — is part of the chemistry of growth. In particular, any person who is prepared to accept overall responsibility in the growth of the operation — such as managers, co-ordinators, trainers or consultants — has some hard questions to ask him or herself concerning the impact of her or his habitual responses upon what is happening there. At the very least such a person should ask himself or herself whether the too great deceleration or acceleration in growth is the product of too much habitual caution or boldness in the way they handle their role in the group.

The question might come up in discussion and planning settings: sometimes — where, for example, minority voices are being silenced by some kind of tyranny of the articulate — co-ordinators might do better to intervene than to stand back. At other times — where, for example, the group looks as though it can handle its own conflicts and turn them into fruitful action — they might do better to stay out of the way.

It might come up in planning and implementation settings: any programme idea can be implemented in both bold and cautious forms. Where it is not possible to get an idea radically implemented, it is often possible to get something done informally (on

the basis of limited partnerships in the operation), or on a pilot basis, or to set up a limited-term working group to develop the idea further — before fuller implementation is considered. Sometimes more cautious initiations provide surer foundations for bolder initiatives at a later stage. On the other hand, if nothing is holding you back, why wait?

What seems to be dangerous in both types of setting is for people to resolve such issues on the sole basis of their *habitual* way of resolving such issues.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on page 200.

Applications

These have not been simple stories to be simply told: they raise issues. The issues have been identified by means of analysis: by recognising integrative features of certain British programmes; by linking to those features findings concerning innovation in schools; and by introducing research data and approaches to theory. Throughout, the issues highlighted have been about what drives such innovations, and what resists them.

The resulting model yields six sets of issues, from which tasks for such operations can be distilled.

A Parallel Analysis

The report of the Careers Guidance Integration Project (CGIP — Evans and Law, 1982) has produced a diagnostic inventory, of problems for readiness for integrative change, which shows some parallels with this six-fold analysis. The report — based on action-research work in 20 schools and colleges — asks why there is reluctance to move towards integration. It answers in the following terms:

- People need first to develop a clear and differentiated idea of what careers guidance is, before it can be integrated with anything else; they do not always have sufficient practical experience of what is involved in the ideas — either of careers guidance or of integration — to take them further.
- Insufficient resources of time, personnel, and materials are available to develop anything new.
- People feel personally insecure, so that the prospect of opening up conflicts — by challenging existing consensus — is unacceptable to them.
- Linkages across the boundary between the school as an organisation, and its community or neighbourhood, are insufficiently strong; the school is preoccupied with its curriculum.
- Linkages across the boundaries between departments within the school are insufficiently strong.

The CGIP's *analysis* is not identical to that used here; but the *material* is closely parallel to much of the material identified here as significant for the integration of programmes of preparation for adult and working life.

The forms of all such analysis are fairly arbitrary. Whatever analytical model is finally adopted will — in part — be validated by its capacity to portray recognisable descriptions of reality. But it can also be validated by its capacity to diagnostically explain how things are; and to indicate potentiality for future moves.

Diagnosis

A series of questions is set out below. They are designed to translate the discussions in this document into diagnostic bases for future moves.

ABOUT RATIONALES

- Do all participants know whose needs the programme has been set up to meet, and what those needs are?
- Is that rationale sufficiently broad that it will support action in pursuit of all the needs identified, and attract sufficiently diverse network support?
- Have those statements been made explicit — with their values unpacked — and set out for all to see?

ABOUT RESOURCES

- Are all kinds of keepers of resources aware of what the programme is actually delivering for participants, for institutions and for students?
- Are those keepers aware of what the programme is potentially capable of delivering?
- Is the programme getting the diversity of resources it needs?

ABOUT CO-ORDINATION

- Do participants know what contributions the operation needs of them?
- Are participants aware where the extent and limits of their influences on the operation lie — in relation to the contributions of others?
- Is coherent sense being made of how each contribution belongs to the whole?

ABOUT CROSS-FERTILISATION

- Do individual participants influence each other and the operation as a whole?
- Is the operation open to sectional influence from inside?
- Are participants open to influence from outside?

ABOUT IDEAS FOR ACTIONS

- Are ideas being translated into actions?
- Are the ideas underpinning actions being identified?

- Are the operation's actions accessible to, and usable by, students?

ABOUT GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

- Is there a basis of collaboration and credibility established in the operation?
- Is anyone making sure that the operation doesn't settle for easy consensus on the issues it faces — are conflicts being faced?
- Is there good reason to suppose that the operation is being developed sufficiently boldly or sufficiently cautiously?

The list of questions is not exhaustive. They are examples of the possibility of carrying out such a self-diagnostic enquiry. Many are questions which any operation should be capable of answering for itself. Some operations could answer all of them.

Answers to the questions could yield a profile for operations like those at South Brunswick High School, City-as-School, Olney High School and Oakland Education Work Council. A form for such a profile is set out in Figure 9.

FIGURE 9

A 'How Are We Doing' Profile for
Integrative Programmes of
Preparation for Adult and Working Life

How are we doing on ...

...rationales?	implicit	explicit
...resources?	narrow	diverse
...co-ordination?	ad hoc	systematic
...cross-fertilisation?	closed	open
...accessibility to students?	distant	proximate
...preparation and reflection by students?	low	high
...development?	sub-optimal	optimal

Where answers to the question above are mainly and strongly 'yes', then the plots on the profile may tend to come on the right of the profile; where they are mainly and strongly 'no', on the left.

One use of the profile is to identify what might be called 'innovatory imbalances' — conditions in which achievement in some areas is not matched by achievement elsewhere. It would show on the profile by sharp swings between left and right. Such an imblance might — for example — be between rationales and resources. An obvious and common example is the case of the good argument chasing hard-to-find money; but the converse also happens — the teachers (mentioned on page 183) who did not know what to do with the 'Title One' money is a case of good money in pursuit of hard-to-find arguments! Even British readers may be able to think of one or two examples of such imbalance! An operation which is 'big' on action and 'small' on rationales or diversity of resources is — on this understanding — still in imbalance. How does it know it is a right kind of action? Other imbalances occur where an operation is closed against cross-fertilisation, but in which someone is boldly trying to push a radical and unwelcome plan. It could be a short route to a coronary — or paranoia! Something has to be done first about opening up the operation to cross-fertilisation; perhaps by starting up some basic but limited collaborations with one or two individuals who seem more open than others. A report on the work of school-community links in Yorkshire, England (Roberts and Law, 1982) provides evidence that some kind of 'balancing of tasks' needs to be achieved in that kind of work; getting one of the group's task properly done allows progress on another of the tasks. There is, in particular, evidence to show that groups which do not face up to — and learn to deal with — their own conflicts, are groups which are more disposed to retreat into 'taking shop' mode.

The 'How Are We Doing' profile is, by seeking 'innovatory imbalance', designed to identify a place where unblocking moves might next be taken.

Identifying Next Moves

The check list in Figure 10 is designed to elicit suggestions for what sort of moves they might be.

It is based on a rough-and-ready three-fold analysis of participation: 1. by team or network members; 2. by managers and co-ordinators, and 3. by trainers and consultants.

It is not complete. Indeed, one possible first use of it could be to invite participants in the programme to suggest further questions, and to re-write these questions so that they specifically apply to a particular operation.

FIGURE 10

A 'What Can I Do?' Check List for Developing Integrative Programmes of Preparation for Adult and Working Life

All of the items are predicated on the sentence stem 'What — if anything — should I do ...'

ABOUT MAKING RATIONALES EXPLICIT (See pages 154-160)

AS Team or Network Members

...to find out whose needs this operation has been set up to meet?

...to find out what 'connections' it makes and what 'alternatives' it proposes?

...to get my view of objectives for the operation expressed to partners?

...to make clear to others what my reasons are for being involved in the operation?

As Manager or Co-ordinator

...to clearly state the reasons why the operation has been set up and my own reasons for being involved in it?

...to find out what the needs really are that the operation is supposed to be meeting?

...to ensure that rationales take account of 'alternatives' as well as 'connections' — so that both kinds of commitment from participants can be welded into the operation?

...to ensure that all partners can actively voice the values they place on the operation and the doubts they have about it?

...to help partners see all their different 'connections' and 'alternatives' for the programme as integrated parts of the operation?

As Trainer or Consultant

...to help people voice their commitments to the operation?

...to help them voice their doubts and 'sez you' retorts?

...to help people unpack the values and doubts they have concerning the reasons for the operation?

...to make explicit my own reasons for being involved in the operation?

...to help people see all their different 'connections' and 'alternatives' for the programme as parts of 'one world'?

ABOUT GETTING RESOURCES BY SHOWING RESULTS (see pages 160-167)

As Team or Network Members

...to find out what results this operation can deliver?

...to find out how it suits me to collaborate with it?

...to feed evidence of results back into the operation?

...to say where I (we) need additional resources?

...

As Manager or Co-ordinator

...to find out how the operation can help participants with their existing preoccupations?

...to point out where the operation has a payoff for its participants — as well as requests to make of them?

...to recruit more voluntary participation?

...to enquire into the actual outcomes of the operation?

...to be able to say what the operation is capable of delivering?

As Trainer or Consultant

...to show participants what results their efforts are capable of achieving?

...to help participants identify their results to date?

...to help participants examine options for picking up new resources — and develop plans to do so?

...

...

ABOUT THE CO-ORDINATION OF INFLUENCE (See pages 167-174)

As Team or Network Members

...to know what I can contribute to the operation — and what I can't?

...to let my partners in the operation know what I have to contribute?

...to find out where what I can do supplements and extends what others in the operation do?

...to find out where what they do supplements and extends what I do?

...

As Manager or Co-ordinator

...to understand what participants can and cannot contribute to the operation?

...to know what is missing from the operation and where else it can be found?

...to make the contributions of each visible to the whole?

...to help people say what they can contribute, and what they can't?

...to understand the greater system of which the operation forms a part; where the system helps, where it hinders, and how it could be made to help more and hinder less?

As Trainer or Consultant

...to help people say what they can contribute, and what they can't?

...to help participants acquire new knowledge and skills for the operation?

...

...

...

ABOUT CROSS-FERTILISING THE DIVERSITY (See pages 174-180)

As Team or Network Members

...to use more of the insights, experiences and skills that I have to offer the operation?

...to see if I can't use more of my 'outside' experience inside the operation?

...to get my view of the operation heard?

...to get my part — section, department or faction — of the operation linked in direct discussion and collaboration with other parts?

...to achieve a role in this operation — rather than just allowing myself wholly to be assigned one?

As Manager or Co-ordinator

...to use recruitment of new participants as a way to diversify rather than to consolidate what is already happening?

...to get minority and sectional views openly voiced in discussion and planning?

...to help participants to become visible as unique individuals — rather than as role occupants?

...to get participants to take account of what is happening outside the operation — particularly the alternative perspectives that could be brought in?

...to make it possible for people to express and work on their differences face-to-face and across the operation — without having to appeal to 'the top'?

As Trainer or Consultant

...to know how much — as yet — unreleased skill and energy there is in this group?

...to know how much readiness there is for new input?

...to know when to intervene with new input and when to get out of participants' way?

...

...

ABOUT IDEAS FOR ACTIONS AND ACTION FOR IDEAS (See pages 180-185)

As Team or Network Members

...to be clear enough about the concepts underlying action, so that I can make suggestions concerning how those actions can be developed and extended?

...to test action to see whether it delivers what it is supposed to?

...to make action accessible to students?

...to make action usable by students?

...to pilot actions implementing new concepts, and to report back to the operation on the outcomes of the pilot?

As Manager or Co-ordinator

...to get beyond offering lists of 'things to do' by making clear the concepts which support the action?

...to get beyond offering lists of 'things to do' by making clear the concepts which support the action?

...to consult participants about how new concepts are to be implemented, so that they can influence actijon from their own experience?

...to make sure that participants can say both how and why they propose to go about their work?

...to make new concepts generate new suggestions for action?

...

As Trainer or Consultant

...to help participants to articulate and explore their concepts about the work?

...to help participants see where their concepts are similar and different from each other?

...to leave room after the introduction of each new concept

for people to say how they can see its implementation taking place?

...to follow-up on pilot and initial implementation stages, to review progress and seek bases for modifying action?

...

ABOUT OPTIMISING DEVELOPMENT (See pages 185-192)

As Team or Network Members

...to get into early collaboration with partners?

...to contribute to the basic credibility of the operation?

...to stop allowing myself to be blocked or swamped by influential members of the team?

...to stop habitually blocking and swamping others?

...to risk, and if necessary go on risking, a minority voice in planning and development?

As Manager or Co-ordinator

...to get participants in the operation collaborating, and to get it visibly and credibly established in the eyes of the community?

...to know about the effects of my own habitual boldness or caution in my work; to know when to shut up and allow growth to take its course, and when to intervene?

...to help myself and others to tolerate the risk and threat that conflict entails?

...to know which 'shelved' conflict to next take off the shelf?

...to know when to mediate or support minority views in the team — to make sure they are heard?

As Trainers or Consultants

...to know when to mediate or support minority views in the team — to make sure they are heard?

...to know about the effects of my own habitual boldness or caution are in my work?

...to know when to shut up and allow developments to take their course, and when to intervene with reinforcements, information or models?

...

...

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Estimated Versus Measured Interests and Aptitudes in Employment Counselling

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Abstract

The first part of this two-part study, which was designed to replicate an earlier investigation of the relationship between the estimated and measured aptitudes of adults in the labour force, again revealed that, although their estimates are correlated with measures of their aptitudes, these adults significantly underestimate their aptitudes. It was also ascertained that the samples used in both studies were drawn from the same population.

While the second part of the study revealed that estimated interests are associated with the measured interests of these adults, several problems associated with the data collection procedure, each of which could inhibit the generalizeability of the results, were identified. Finally, contrary to expectation, a single interest profile typical of Employment Center clients could not be identified even though the most frequently occurring profile would typify them as having preferences for activities associated with occupations involving people, self-expression, and creativity.

Estimated Versus Measured Interests and Aptitudes in Employment Counselling

Since the days of Parsons (1909), the primary focus of vocational guidance has been the enhancement of self-understanding and self-acceptance. Most practitioners would agree that while the enhancement of self-concept variables is important in psychotherapy and counselling, they must share the limelight with process and content (Herr & Cramer, 1972) that is related to the world of work. Thus, vocational guidance may correctly be defined as:

> The process of helping a person to develop and accept an integrated and adequate picture of himself and his role in the world of work, to test this concept against reality, and to convert it into a reality, with satisfaction to himself and benefit to society. (Super, 1951, p. 92)

This definition provides a global conceptualization of vocational guidance and implies a "fusion of educational and vocational concerns for assisting students to locate themselves vocationally in the future" (Herr & Cramer, 1972, p. 3). Because locating oneself vocationally in the future is a task performed by students and adults alike, the Employment and Immigration Commission (Note 1) has adopted the term employment counselling to describe this aspect of vocational guidance.

The employment counselling activities of Canada Employment Center (CEC) personnel involve the use of both measured and estimated interests and aptitudes. While measured interests and aptitudes figure prominently in the Trait-Factor (Parsons, 1909; Williamson, 1965) approach to vocational guidance, the role their estimates can play is somewhat inconclusive (Goldman, 1961). He cites methodological problems, including very short-term follow-up, as the major reasons why "few positive conclusions are available for the guidance of counsellors" (p. 346).

In addition, an examination of research involving the study of the measured and estimated aptitudes of adults (Booth & Laurin-Dumas, 1980; Briscoe, Muelder, & Michael, 1981; DeNisi & Shaw, 1977; Kelso, Holland, & Gottfredson, 1977; Woodhouse, 1976) and that involving interests (Christiansen, 1960; Nelson, 1971; Slaney & Russell, 1981; Super & Crites, 1962) revealed that the only study designed to assess the relationship between the estimated and measured aptitudes of adults in the work force was that conducted by Booth and Laurin-Dumas (1980). In view of the Goldman (1961) findings, and because of the increasing emphasis that is being placed on estimates of both interests and aptitudes in employment counselling (Employment and Immigration, 1981), a follow-up study was deemed necessary.

This study was designed for two purposes: first, to investigate the extent to which the interests and aptitudes, both measured and estimated, of adults in the work force are related, and, secondly, to establish the data base necessary to the undertaking of a future longitudinal investigation of the correspondence between interests and aptitudes (measured and estimated) and the individual's occupation prior to and after receiving employment counselling.

Method

Subjects

The information used in this study was obtained from the records of registered CEC clients who had volunteered to

1. Employment and Immigration Canada. *Employment counselling in the CEIC* (Report No. WH-7-045). Ottawa: Author, October 1980.

assist their respective Employment Counsellors in attaining competence in the interpretation of the Employment and Immigration Commission's (CEIC) interest and aptitude tests. A short description of the contents of these records will be found in Bezanson, Busque, Jean, and Monsebraaten (1980). Due to the manner in which client information was obtained under the program, statistics relative to the number of male and female clients involved, their respective average ages, and education could not be obtained. However, group statistics show that the average age of participants (N = 627) is 28.17, with a standard deviation of 7.51 (Range: 18-61). In addition, the number of years of schooling reported by clients had a range of 11 years (X = 11.83; σ = 1.78). For the purposes of this study, the anonymity of counsellors and their clients representing 237 CECs from across Canada is assured.

Apparatus

Aptitude. As an integral part of the Test Certification Program (Bezanson, 1977a, 1977b), the *General Aptitude Test Battery* (GATB) had been administered to each client. Within the GATB interpretation procedure, clients were asked to record a self-estimate of their aptitude in each of the nine areas assessed by the GATB. This estimate was recorded on what is known as the GATB Self-Estimate Sheet.

Procedure

An initial screening of the available records (N = 672) was performed and those having incomplete data, those which did not involve the use of self-estimated aptitudes, as well as those not containing data on interests were rejected. The remaining records (N = 627) were coded according to CEC, counsellor, and client. To prepare the data base for future use, the *Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations* (Employment & Immigration Commission, 1971, 1973) codes were obtained for every current and recommended occupational title appearing in the clients' records. Once completed, all records pertaining to the use of self-estimates were set aside for further analysis.

Aptitudes. For aptitudes, this analysis involved identifying the score associated with the middle of the self-estimate range on each of the nine aptitudes and pairing the resulting estimated aptitudes with their measured counterparts. For each of the nine aptitudes, the correlation (Pearson r) between the estimate and its corresponding measured aptitude was computed, and the difference between their respective means was tested for significance using a t-test for correlated samples (Ferguson, 1966). Finally, to determine if the results

of this study were analagous to those obtained previously by Booth and Laurin-Dumas (1980), the significance of the difference between the correlation coefficients obtained in the two studies was tested (Ferguson, 1966). Of the possible 627 records, only 169 contained sufficient information to permit these analyses.

Interests. For interests, the analysis involved an examination of each client's Measured and Revised Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory (COII) Profiles. Where no Revised Profile was reported by the counsellor, it was, as prescribed in the *Administration, Scoring, and Interpretation Manual* for the COII (Booth & Bégin, 1979), recorded as being identical to the Measured Profile. A statistical comparison of theoretical and observed frequency of occurrence was made using the Chi square statistic (Ferguson, 1966). The theoretical frequency was established as the frequency associated with the probability that both profiles were the same (or different), while the observed frequency was the actual number of times they were identical. It was hypothesized that the comparisons between Revised and Measured COII profiles would be equally divided on the basis of their similarity, or difference. In addition, an attempt was made to determine if an interest profile typical of CEC clients could be identified. To undertake this aspect of the investigation, the obtained frequencies of occurrence of COII raw scores on each of the five factors were ranked and reordered. From the table of reordered raw scores, composite interest profiles were prepared for the ensemble of the 541 client records.

Results

Aptitudes

An examination of Table 1 will reveal that not only are each of the measured aptitude means significantly ($p < .001$) different from their estimated counterparts, they are higher. Moreover, it can be seen that all of the measured and estimated aptitude pairs are significantly correlated. These correlations were then compared with those obtained in an earlier study by Booth and Laurin-Dumas (1980). This involved converting each of the correlation coefficients to values of Z_r, using a transformation procedure developed by Fisher (Ferguson, 1966) and testing the significance of the differences. The results of this analysis are reported in Table 2. It can be seen that the correlations obtained in the present study do not differ significantly from those reported in the Booth and Laurin-Dumas (1980) study.

TABLE 1

Correlations and t-tests between
Measured and Estimated Aptitudes

Aptitude	$\overline{X}_m$	$\overline{X}_e$	*df*	Pooled σ	*t*	*p*	*r*	*p*
Intelligence (G)	115.85	104.04	168	14.69	10.445	.001	.426	.001
Verbal Aptitude (V)	113.07	103.15	168	15.28	8.444	.001	.491	.001
Numerical Aptitude (N)	110.91	101.96	168	14.57	7.980	.001	.548	.001
Spatial Aptitude (S)	113.82	98.88	168	16.55	11.728	.001	.449	.001
Form Perception (P)	121.56	105.14	168	18.93	11.270	.001	.235	.01
Clerical Perception (Q)	125.65	107.17	168	20.20	11.895	.001	.331	.001
Motor Coordination (K)	110.71	100.05	168	16.35	8.478	.001	.346	.001
Finger Dexterity (F)	105.38	96.93	168	18.52	5.928	.001	.430	.001
Manual Dexterity (M)	109.80	100.33	168	19.62	6.271	.001	.386	.001

TABLE 2

Comparisons of Correlations Between Measured and Estimated Aptitudes Obtained in the Present Study (N = 169) With Those (N = 113) Obtained by Booth and Laurin-Dumas (1980)

Aptitude	Present Study		Booth & Laurin-Dumas (1980)			
	r_1	Z_{r1}	r_2	Z_{r2}	Z^a	p
Intelligence (G)	.426	.454	.406	.430	.195	NS
Verbal Aptitude (V)	.491	.497	.536	.597	.813	NS
Numerical Aptitude (N)	.548	.618	.495	.543	.610	NS
Spatial Aptitude (S)	.449	.485	.446	.478	.057	NS
Form Perception (P)	.235	.239	.233	.239	.000	NS
Clerical Perception (Q)	.331	.321	.320	.332	.089	NS
Motor Coordination (K)	.346	.360	.189	.192	1.366	NS
Finger Dexterity (F)	.430	.460	.414	.442	.146	NS
Manual Dexterity (M)	.386	.406	.494	.485	.642	NS

[a] Negative signs omitted.

$Z \geq 1.96$, $p < .05$.

Interests

The results obtained from the statistical investigation of whether the Measured and Revised COII profiles are associated, or are different, showed the value of *chi-square* to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 95.25$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). Thus, the hypothesis that the comparisons between Revised and Measured COII profiles are equally distributed is rejected. Moreover, an examination of the data reported in Table 3 will reveal that the two profiles are most frequently the same.

The results of the ranking and reordering of the frequency with which each raw score occurred on each of the five COII factors are presented in Table 4. An examination of this table will reveal that contrary to expectation, there is not a single interest profile typical of CEC clients, there are 15.

TABLE 3

Chi-square Test for the Significance of the Similarity (or Difference) Between Measured and Revised COII Profiles

	f_o	f_e	$f_o - f_e$	$(f_o - f_e)^2/f_e$
Same	384	270.5	113.5	47.62
Different	157	270.5	-113.5	47.62
		$\chi^2 = \Sigma[(f_o - f_e/f_e)]$		= 95.24

Discussion

Aptitudes

Obtaining results which show that subject (mean age = 28.2) self-estimates of aptitudes are correlated with measures of their aptitudes is consistent with the findings reported by Booth and Laurin-Dumas (1980), also for adult subjects (mean age = 27.3). Since the test of the significance of the correlation coefficients revealed no significant differences, it may be concluded that the samples used in the two studies were drawn from the same population. Thus, the significant positive relationship between measured and estimated aptitudes is characteristic of adults who are counted as members of the work force. Equally important, since it has implications for the process of employment counselling, is the evidence indicating that these adults consistently underestimate their aptitude to an extent that is not attributable to chance.

When they are considered in conjunction with the investigations of (a) Briscoe et al. (1981), who found no congruence between estimated and measured aptitudes for a composite group of high school students aged 15 to 18; (b) Kelso et al. (1977), who found that self-reports of ability have some relationship to objective assessments for high school girls (modal age = 16); (c) O'Hara and Tiedeman (1959), who reported low congruence for Grade 9 students and relatively higher congruence for Grade 12 students; (d) DeNisi and Shaw (1977), who report congruence on 8 out of 10 estimated-measured aptitude comparisons, the two Booth and Laurin-Dumas studies may be considered to extend evidence of the trend toward progressive congruence between estimated and measured aptitudes (O'Hara & Tiedeman, 1959) into adult years. As more studies of this

TABLE 4

Rank and Rank Order of Raw Score Frequencies
and Composite COII Interest Profiles

	Factor 1			Factor 2			Factor 3			Factor 4			Factor 5			Interest Profile				
X	*f*	Rank	Rank Order	*f*	Rank	Rank Order	*f*	Rank	Rank Order	*f*	Rank	Rank Order	*f*	Rank	Rank Order					
0	65	1	0	33	11	3	15	13	5	26	11	13	11	14.5	5	6	4	7	8	0
1	43	4	2	49	2	1	38	8	4	13	15	14	27	12	4	4	7	6	8	0
2	51	2	3	37	7.5	4	51	4	6	18	14	11	43	6	9	6	4	7	5	8
3	47	3	1	51	1	10	50	5	2	27	10	12	46	5	6	6	8	4	2	0
4	42	5	4	43	3	6	54	2.5	3	24	12	10	52	2	3	8	0	6	4	7
5	40	6	5	40	6	5	58	1	8	29	9	9	59	1	2	0	6	7	4	3
6	28	11	10	41	5	2	54	2.5	7	33	7.5	6	48	4	10	7	1	5	9	–
7	35	8.5	7	34	9.5	9	39	7	1	33	7.5	7	41	8	7	8	2	–	–	–
8	35	8.5	8	34	9.5	7	41	6	9	22	13	5	27	9	8	3	9	1	5	–
9	25	13	13	37	7.5	8	37	9	10	36	6	3	51	3	12	1	5	9	3	2
10	37	7	6	42	4	0	32	10	11	41	5	0	42	7	11	7	9	3	5	6
11	22	14	12	32	12	11	26	11.5	12	54	3	4	30	11	1	0	1	3	2	9
12	27	12	9	21	15	13	26	11.5	0	50	4	8	31	10	14	8	5	2	1	4
13	33	10	11	24	13	14	13	14	13	72	1	2	11	14.5	13	2	3	5	9	1
14	11	15	14	23	14	12	7	15	14	63	2	1	12	13	0	1	3	0	9	2

phenomenon are added, it will become clearer that this progressive clarification of self-concept is an asymptotic function of age and not linearly related to educational level as implied by Tiedeman and O'Hara (1963, p. 81).

Interests

Rejecting the hypothesis that the Measured and Revised COII profiles are equally divided according to the probability ($p = 0.5$) that they are the same (or different) is indicative of the existence of an association between them. Since there are a greater number of subjects whose Measured and Revised interest profiles are the same, the association between them represents a congruence of the two types of profiles. However, this evidence is not conclusive, as the results may be attributable to an artifact of the procedure followed in collecting the data.

During data collection, it was noted that both Measured and Revised COII profiles were not recorded on every subject's profile sheet. On the assumption that the counsellor had simply neglected to transcribe the Measured profile as the Revised profile, it was done during data collection. This may have led to a spuriously high number of observations then considered to be the same. On the other hand, some Revised profiles, which were counted as different from the Measured profiles, were different only because the poles on two of the factors were interchangeable. This may have led to an inflated number of observations considered to be different. Although there appears to be a significant congruence between Measured and Revised interest profiles for this sample of subjects, further investigation, which includes an improved data collecting procedure, is warranted.

As was indicated earlier, the results of the COII raw score frequency analysis yielded 15 different profiles rather than a single profile which could be considered as being typical of CEC clients. However, it is interesting to note that the four most frequently occurring composite profiles involve a preference for activities involving the People, Social, and Scientific, or the People, Creative, and Production poles of the five factors. Such profiles encompass occupations in the medical, broadcasting, motion picture and stage, printing and publishing, painting and sculpting, and performing and audiovisual arts fields. On the other hand, occupations encompassed by the least frequently occurring composite profiles are in the catering and lodging, and construction fields. From this evidence, it would appear likely that today's CEC clients can be described as having preferences for activities associated with occupations which permit them to help

others and which provide opportunities for self-expression and creativity.

If we consider aptitudes and interests in the context of Super's (1951) definition of vocational guidance, we can see that clients' self-estimates are really a manifestation of their self-perception, or self-concept, while the measures are a clear reflection of reality. Thus, both estimates and measures of interests and aptitudes have a complementary, though different, role to play in employment counselling.

The finding that CEC clients consistently underestimate their aptitudes suggests that employment counselling should focus, not on the client's successes in employment, but on challenging the distortion in the client's self-concept (Booth & Laurin-Dumas, 1980), such that the client acquires an "integrated and adequate picture of himself and his role in the world of work" (Super, 1951, p. 92).

Clearly, the outcome of employment counselling using estimated and measured interests is the same, but, because it is doubtful that interests can be under or overestimated, the process will necessarily differ. Given that the results related to interests were found to be inconclusive, only a theoretical résumé of employment counselling involving estimated-measured interest profile congruence will be presented here.

It has been noted (Darley & Hagenah, 1965, p. 180) that the discrepancy between estimated and measured interests may reflect (a) stereotypes, (b) prestige drives, (c) pressures, or (d) naïveté. If support for this notion can be generated, it is clear that employment counselling must expose each of these factors and resolve the issues surrounding them. For clients whose estimated-measured interest profile congruence is low, this could involve additional diagnostic work to determine whether the discrepancy is due to externally or self-imposed constraints and whether they are real or imagined. The effect of this type of intervention would be to delay the interpretation of test results until relatively late in the counselling process. Moreover, the discrepancy could serve as "a springboard to a realistic discussion of many important elements in the vocational choice process [which would] otherwise [remain] untapped" (Christiansen, 1960, p. 130).

It may be concluded that while the present study produced some interesting results, particularly with respect to aptitudes, and has laid a foundation for subsequent investigation in the area of interests, it has added little to the resolution of the debate regarding the congruence of estimated and measured interests. Thus, it remains a fruitful area for investigation.

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Vocational Counselling with Illicit Drug Users

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Drug abuse is a serious problem that has many international implications. Persons who become addicted to drugs such as heroin or amphetamines often fail to contribute in a meaningful way to the welfare of the countries in which they reside. Often people who use illicit drugs such as heroin every day begin to obtain the primary meaning they find in life by obtaining and using illicit drugs. Illicit drug users in many societies break laws to obtain enough money to use drugs. One reason illicit drug users often find themselves in conflict with the laws of a society is because in many countries using drugs such as heroin is illegal and drugs are expensive when obtained through illicit sources. Another reason illegal drug users break the law is because they become socially involved with peers in the drug culture who are manipulative and who support and encourage antisocial behavior. Illicit drug usage is a major problem in many countries of the world.

It is important for counsellors to remember certain facts when working with illicit drug users. The first thing that needs to be remembered is that the various types of illicit drugs (heroin, amphetamines, barbiturates, psychedelics and marijuana) have different effects on the persons who use them. Comparing the effects of heroin and L.S.D. is like comparing apples and oranges. Another fact that needs to be remembered is that the effects of any drug depend on the dosage of the drug that is taken. Some people can use a small amount of speed and manage to work productively while others who use this drug intravenously every day don't work but instead become active members of the drug culture. The vocational needs of the regular user of illicit drugs and not the needs of the occasional user will be addressed in this paper.

It is difficult to distinguish between the vocational rehabilitation and the personal and social rehabilitation needs of the users of illicit drugs. Unless illicit drug users

discontinue using illicit drugs, it is doubtful that they will be able to work productively at a job. Illicit drug users will not discontinue using illicit drugs unless they learn less manipulative ways of relating to people and unless they work through personal problems that contribute to the need they have to use these drugs. Illicit drug users also need to learn ways of handling tension without using drugs as a coping mechanism (Weil, 1972). On the other hand, illicit drug users need to be able to find and hold jobs that are meaningful to them in order to achieve a positive identity in society. Research has shown that many illicit drug users in the United States (Page & Sanders, 1979) have high vocational aspirations but have few job skills and have not completed high school. It is expected that similar patterns might be found in other countries of the world. Many illicit drug users also lack appropriate work habits and attitudes. The personal and social problems of illicit drug users compound the vocational problems of these clients but the reverse is also true.

Vocational counselling is an important component of any effective drug treatment program. Clients in residential drug treatment centers, for instance, need to learn vocational and educational skills that will enable them to succeed and find fulfillment in society (Densen-Gerber, 1973; Page, Smith & Beamish, 1977). It is generally difficult to do any type of counselling with the regular users of illicit drugs until these clients are placed in settings where they refrain from using these drugs. For this reason, the residential drug treatment center has become a recommended method of treating illicit drug users. Many residential drug treatment centers emphasize counselling to help clients resolve personal and interpersonal relationship problems during the first stage of treatment and emphasize vocational and educational training and job placement during the later stages of treatment (Page, et. al., 1977). It is probably not very effective to provide vocational counselling to the regular users of illicit drugs until these clients have first dealt with some personal and family issues, and have gained enough self confidence to cope on a job without using drugs.

Counsellors should realize that many illicit drug users have had life experiences that are different than the majority of people who live in most industrialized countries. Illicit drug users in the United States have often experienced a lot of trauma within families of origin (Page, King, Pass & Glenn, 1980; Page & Powell, 1981; Page & Wattenbarger, 1981). High incidences of drug abuse and mental illness (Aron, 1975) and of alcoholism (Aron, 1975; Page, King, Pass, & Glenn, 1980) are generally associated with the families of il-

licit drug users, at least within the United States. The heroin addict is often said to have a hostile or absent father (Lieberman, 1974); and a mother who is controlling, overprotective, guilt-ridden, hostile and aggressive toward her children (Mason, 1958). Many drug abusers develop hostile attitudes toward authority because of the experiences they had with parents. Many illicit drug users in the United States have fled from families of origin and have become members of the drug culture by the time they are twelve or thirteen years. The attitudes illicit drug users have developed toward authority within families of origin will often affect the ways they relate to employers unless these attitudes are somehow modified.

Once illicit drug users become members of the drug culture, they often develop antisocial lifestyles and break the laws of the countries in which they live to make enough money to buy illicit drugs. The entire lives of the intravenous speed or heroin users who use the drug at least once daily revolves around making enough money to use drugs or, using these drugs. Speed users have been described as social outcasts and as violent, suspicious, self-centered persons who lack ambition and who lack an adequate self concept (Canadian Commission, 1970; Grinspoon & Hedblom, 1975). Heroin addicts have been described as being manipulative, hostile and as using heroin to releave tension (Feldman, 1970). Whatever the personal characteristics of illicit drug users are, it is important for the vocational counsellor to remember that many illicit drug users have made a lot of money by illegal means and have gained a sense of identity by being a member of the drug culture. Many of these clients feel uncomfortable when they are placed in what might be considered a "normal" social setting, such as an employment setting. Many illicit drug users become depressed when they find that they are unable to relate to "normal" people or when they are discriminated against by employers who sometimes refuse to give them jobs because of the problems these clients have had.

The reader at this point may be wondering what approaches are recommended for the counsellor who wants to do vocational counselling with illicit drug users. Once drug users have gained enough confidence to attempt to explore career options, the vocational counselling process is ready to begin. Illicit drug users may be very unsure of the abilities they have to succeed in society. Many illicit drug users have spent a lot of time relating to drugs using peers and these clients often need to become confident of the abilities they have to relate positively to co-workers and employers on a

job. Unless illicit drug users can gain a sense of social acceptance on the job, they may become isolated or depressed and resort to using illicit drugs again and relating to drug using peers. The vocational counsellor needs to talk with these clients about the problems they will probably experience on the job and to help these clients learn how to handle in a constructive manner work related crises.

The vocational counsellor may also want to discuss with illicit drug users how they cope with leisure time. Generally, illicit drug users have negative perceptions about other illicit drug users (Page & Myrick, 1977; Page, Stevens, & Weber, 1982) and associate being around other illicit drug users with using drugs. It is probably unrealistic for illicit drug users to think they can associate with persons who regularly use drugs and refrain from using these drugs again themselves. However, illicit drug users need to establish new social relationships with people who refrain from using drugs in order to gain a feeling of social acceptance. The leisure time activities of illicit drug users are important to the vocational counsellor because unless these clients gain a sense of being accepted by others, it is unlikely that they will refrain from using drugs again. The vocational counsellor should be concerned with helping these clients explore constructive ways they can develop new social relationships at work and away from work.

The vocational counsellor may need to help illicit drug users explore the work interests and abilities they have and relate these interests and abilities to the world of work. Many drug abusers are naive about the type of work they identify for themselves. Many illicit drug users, for instance, want to become drug counsellors but know little about other types of employment or about their own work interests and abilities. Drug abusers have generally spent much time living in the drug culture and have narrow or distorted ideas about what different types of occupations involve. The vocational counsellor needs to remember that there is evidence that heroin addicts, and probably other types of illicit drug users, have higher than average I.Q.'s when compared to persons from a comparable socio-economic group (Platt & Labate, 1976). Unfortunately, illicit drug users also generally have completed fewer grades of school than persons with similar backgrounds and have unclear ideas about the types of jobs that they might do. Many drug users need to be presented with vocational information concerning occupations and jobs. The vocational counsellor often needs to administer ability and interest tests that help these clients explore the strengths and deficiencies they have and that help in the

planning of a remedial educational and vocational program for these clients. The vocational counsellor should realize that many tests, especially I.Q. tests, are culturally biased when used with many illicit drug users and take this into account when interpreting the test results.

When the counsellor does vocational counselling with illicit drug users, it should be remembered that one way these clients survived in the drug culture was by becoming skilled manipulators of people and that this can affect the counselling process. Illicit drug users are often prone toward becoming overly dependent on authority figures and then trying to get these authority figures to do things for them. It is often easy for illicit drug users to blame authority for their own failures or shortcomings and this is especially pronounced when vocational counsellors or other helping professionals assume too much responsibility for the welfare of these clients. Illicit drug users need to receive support from vocational counsellors, especially when they experience difficulties, but these clients also need to assume as much responsibility as possible for their own rehabilitation. Activities such as contacting employers should be left to the client unless there is a clear reason why the vocational counsellor should perform such activities.

One counselling approach that has been effective with illicit drug users is group counselling. Illicit drug users are often highly sociable and generally enjoy participating in counselling groups (Page & Sanders, 1979). Counselling groups conducted with illicit drug users can focus on helping these clients become aware of the ways they manipulate others, and learning more responsible and caring ways of relating to people (Page, 1979). These groups can also provide a setting in which illicit drug users can explore personal, or vocational, problems they have (Page, 1979; Page, 1980). Counselling groups can provide the vocational counsellor with a medium in which to explore the vocational aspirations of clients as well as to deal with the personal and interpersonal relationship problems of these clients. Various roleplaying techniques, such as practising employment interviews, are often quite effective in counselling groups with illicit drug users. Group counselling is effective with illicit drug users because many of these clients open up about problems easier with peers in a small group than they do in individual counselling. The vocational counsellor needs to emphasize to the participants of these groups that ethical guidelines such as the confidentiality of material presented in counselling will be observed (Page, 1979; Page, 1981).

Illicit drug users are a highly diverse group of clients who come from different social and economic backgrounds. Unlike many alcoholics, most illicit drug users who use drugs every day have major problems in adjusting to the world of work. These clients are often uncomfortable around co-workers and employers and often have unstable work histories. Illicit drug users often need to receive vocational counselling to have a chance of succeeding at a job and of adjusting to society. The vocational counsellor forms an important, although often overlooked, helping professional involved with the rehabilitation of illicit drug users.

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